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I.—TIBULLUS AND OVID.

(Concluded.)

PART III.

VI. *Evidence of the Schemata.*

With respect to the origin of the fourth book, it remains to consider the proof which may be drawn from the schemata, i. e. the combinations of dactyls and spondees occurring in the verse. In my judgment, we scarcely need the metrical evidence of these poems to establish conclusively their Ovidian authorship; the testimony of the phraseology alone is most ample and of a sufficiently convincing character, yet it is also clearly a matter of the greatest interest to determine whether the metre confirms the clear indications of the style and the language. One objection, however, of some plausibility, which can be urged against the whole method of metrical study, may fairly be faced at the outset. Some well-known scholars—for example, even Ehrengruber and Cartault—have written long treatises upon the schemata of Latin verse with almost excessive detail and with no definite goal to be attained; it is not too much to say that they have brought the metrical form of evidence, to a certain extent, into disrepute, and it is by no means entirely without reason that Belling writes: “Summa summarum: die ganz statistische Rechnerei hat nur das—wie mir scheint, doch nicht ganz unergiebig—Ergebnis, dass sie ergebnislos ist.”^{81a} Bel-

^{81a} *Albius Tibullus*, p. 26. Ganzenmüller also, *Beiträge zur Ciris*, p. 635, underestimates the value of the schemata: “Die Drobisch’sche Methode scheint mir zu sehr äusserlich, rein mechanisch, zu sehr auf Zufälligkeiten begründet und in ihrem praktischen Wert zweifelhaft.”

ling's indictment is too hasty and too sweeping. Ehrengruber and Cartault have not labored wholly in vain; it is possible that they have fallen at times into extremely grave mistakes, but their work is substantial and their material is permanently valuable. Ehrengruber, for example, is certainly right when he holds that the preferred or favorite schemata of a poet belong to his essential personality and cannot easily be modified,^{81b} but he is wholly mistaken in thinking that a youthful and developing artist can not change these forms for a purpose and within certain limits. For, just as conceivably other supports might be substituted for the Doric columns of the Parthenon, so too the schemata, the mighty pillars that support the "stately temple of song,"⁸² can be changed in a sufficient time and for an adequate cause. Yet, as a rule, the changes must, after all, fall within narrow limits. Thus I shall not assume nor allow the sudden and violent transitions for which Cartault, when attributing IV 2-6 and IV 13-14 to Tibullus, is constantly forced to find excuses, and which contravene and destroy the fundamental principles of the poet's art. I conclude then that the schemata, when properly studied, afford a most valuable test of authorship, and, although they have sometimes been misused, they can also be employed legitimately, and with undoubted effectiveness.

In discussing the development of the Ovidian schemata in the Lygdamus and Sulpicia elegies, I shall refer constantly to Cartault's important work which has already been frequently quoted, namely *Le Distique élégiaque chez Tibullus, Sulpicia, Lygdamus* (Paris, 1911), and it therefore seems desirable to speak of the general character of the treatise and of the nature of some of its conclusions. The merits of so comprehensive and, in many respects, so masterly a work need no encomium from me. By his rich and orderly collection of material Cartault has laid all present and future students of Tibullus and the Tibullan corpus under lasting obligations, and on my own account I am only too glad to acknowledge my deep indebtedness to his labors. Yet the sense of obligation must not prevent me from pointing

^{81b} *De Panegyrico*, X, p. 13.

⁸² See the famous allegory in Verg. *Georg.* 3, 13 ff., where the noble poem is described under the form of a temple erected in the plain of Mantua.

out certain serious defects in the plan of his work which prevent many of the conclusions from being either reasonable or just. There is reason first to regret the complete neglect of the work of his predecessors; thus, in the chapter on elision (pp. 181-199), all the facts are given with the utmost completeness and the utmost accuracy, but in a complex question, such as that of elision, where the interpretation is almost, if not quite, as important as the facts, it is disappointing that Cartault nowhere refers to the views of previous writers such as Hörschelmann, Paroli and Kleemann.⁸³ A still more serious fault lies, however, in the fact that the plan of the work is, after all, far too narrow to gain trustworthy results in the difficult questions of disputed authorship. Cartault's earlier book on the *Corpus Tibullianum*⁸⁴ shows an insufficient study of its authorship and no study whatever of its language. In his metrical work, therefore, he places himself in a very difficult position and, so far as the question of authenticity is concerned, he undertakes an impossible task. For it is not very likely that the metre which is contained within the small volume of Tibullus can itself alone give a solution. We have already seen that in a larger field Hultgren was much alarmed by the low proportions of the *Medicamen Faciei*, but was unable to interpret them correctly; similarly Cartault, pointing out (*op. cit.*, p. 25) that DSSD is the predominant schema of IV 13-14, is greatly perturbed, but seeks only specious excuses for the remarkable "anomaly" which he frankly admits. Having then no additional resources to steady and to fortify his judgment, in his eagerness to retain Tibullan authorship, he is finally driven to the point of sacrificing and abandoning in succession nearly all the principles of Tibullan art. Thus the evidence is everywhere massed by the accomplished metrician and the indefatigable scholar, but the conclusions are drawn by the special

⁸³ See the review by J. Tolkiehn (*Berl. Philol. Wochenschr.* XXXII [1912], col. 525), who says: "The neglect of the performances of other scholars, which is characteristic of Cartault's works in general, reaches its height in this book; he has not quoted a single one of the four principal treatises relating to the subject."—While making Cartault's treatise the basis of my own study, I have recognized its serious limitations at certain points and have added references to authoritative previous discussions, such as those of Eichner, Knappe and Hörschelmann.

⁸⁴ *Tibulle et les auteurs du Corpus Tibullianum*, Paris, 1909.

pleader, who, for the moment, sets aside the rules and the usage of Tibullus. Cartault vacillates also greatly with reference to the time of production of the fourth book, usually holding that it follows closely upon the first book, but at other times associating it closely with the second.⁸⁵ Before we examine, however, the schemata which form the central theme of our study, I wish to give a striking example from another field which will serve to illustrate Cartault's too great readiness, in dealing with authorship, to set aside the well-known rules of Tibullan art.

It is a well-known fact that Tibullus, unlike Ovid, seeks carefully to differentiate the two halves of the pentameter and therefore scarcely ever allows the first half to end with an iambic word (cf. Eichner, *De poet. Lat. usque ad Aug. distichis*, Bresl. 1868, p. 81; Knappe, *De Tib. l. IV elegiis*, p. 32). Two exceptions to the rule occur in which it is usually said that he intentionally seeks "parallelism between the two hemistichs":⁸⁶ 1, 4, 4 non tibi barba nitet, non tibi culta coma est; 1, 5, 64 subicietque manus efficietque viam. Cartault also holds (p. 139) that we have "no negligence here, but clearly a literary effect." A single case occurs in which the first member is terminated by a dissyllable and the second member by a trisyllable: 2, 6, 32 et madefacta meis sarta feram lacrimis. Since the two members are already differentiated, this case should be excluded entirely from our count. Two genuine exceptions occur, however, in the Ovidian elegies of the second book: 2, 2, 22 ludat et ante tuos turba novella pedes; 2, 5, 18 vatis et ipse, *precor*, quid canat illa, doce. In any case the distinctive rule of Tibullan art holds good. Even if all five cases in 616 pentameters were Tibullan and all were unexcused (which is scarcely the case), the percentage of exceptions would be only 0.8; if two cases are counted in 503

⁸⁵ In point of fact it bears no direct relation to either book, but its author naturally came far more closely under the influence of the first book, and at the same time pursued his own independent development which at times led somewhat in the direction of the second book.

⁸⁶ See Eichner, *op. cit.*, 88 f. and B. O. Foster, *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XL (1909), p. 56. Eichner (*Bemerkungen über den metr. Bau in den Distichen des Cat., Tib., Prop. u. Ov.*, Gnesen 1875, p. 22) also points out that a distich, in which both hex. and pent. have iambic words standing at the caesura, is found not at all in Tib., 3 times in Lyg. (2, 15 f.; 5, 19 f.; 6, 47 f.), 38 times in Ov.

genuine pentameters (omitting II 2, 3 and 5), it is only 0.4. On the other hand in IV 2-6 we have four cases⁸⁷ in 57 pentameters in which the first hemistich is terminated by an iambic word, constituting 7.0%. Cartault's assumption that this percentage can be reconciled with distinctive Tibullan art is wholly inadmissible and prepares us for similar disregard of the evidence of the schemata. The usage of IV 2-6 at this point is wholly similar to that of Lygdamus who has ten cases in 145 pentameters, or 6.9% (Cartault, p. 151), and wholly similar to that of Ovid, who, in the first 56 pentameters of *Amores I*, has four cases, or 7.1%. It is clear therefore that in this rule Tibullus carefully observed a refinement which Ovid never fully adopted.⁸⁸

Many other less important indications of difference of usage between the fourth book and the two 'authentic' books may be mentioned. Thus in both IV 2-6, IV 7-12 and IV 13-14 the elisions in the pentameter are much more frequent than those in the hexameter (Cartault, pp. 184, 307, 309). This is contrary to Tibullus' usage in the second book (1. 4. 6) and contrary to his usage in half the elegies of the first book, but it is in complete accord with the usage of Lygdamus, who, like Catullus, has the larger number of elisions in the pentameter.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ IV, 4, 16; 5, 14; 6, 4; 6, 12; see Cartault, pp. 147, 308.

⁸⁸ According to Eichert, *op. cit.*, 81, Ovid admits 4% of exceptions in the *Amores* and *Fasti*, 8% in the *Maecenas*.

⁸⁹ According to Paroli, *De Tib. arte metr. cum Lygd. comparata*, Brescia, 1899, p. 39, the average number of elisions in Lygdamus per hundred hexameters is 10.34, per hundred pentameters 13.10. According to Cartault, p. 185, all the elegies of Lygdamus, except III 3, show more elisions in the pent. than in the hex. Note also that the percentage of elisions in the 57 pent. of IV 2-6 is 17.5%, in the 20 pent. of IV 7-12 it is 15%, in the 14 pent. of IV 13-14 it is 21.4%,—higher, in the latter case, says Cartault (p. 184), than in "any piece of the two authentic books." The genuine Tibullus, on the other hand, never exceeds 10.6% in the pent., except in the two early elegies I 7 and 9, which show 15.6% and 16.7 respectively.—On elision in the Tibullan corpus in general, see the detailed study of W. Hörschelmann, *Philologus* LVI (1897), pp. 354-371. While the differences between the two poets cannot be discussed fully here, I may note briefly that the harsher cases of elision of a long vowel before a short are always more numerous in Ovid than in Tibullus (cf. also Hörschelmann, *op. cit.* 361), because Ovid developed the dactyl in the first foot even more

Furthermore, both in IV 13-14, IV 2-6 and IV 7-12, the end of the first dactylic foot coincides, in the hexameter, with the end of a word in the majority of cases (Cartault, pp. 62, 64, 70, 306, 308), and this predominance of coincidence accords with the usage of Lygdamus (Cartault, p. 78) and is at variance with the usage of Tibullus' second book (Cartault, p. 44), though not with that of his first. The predominance in IV 13-14 of the dactylic word (the better form) over the trochaic word in the fifth foot of the hexameter, and the practical equality of the two in IV 2-6 (Cartault, pp. 132, 306, 308) agrees with the usage of Lygdamus (p. 134) and is opposed to that of Tibullus (pp. 128 ff.). The cases in which the two parts composing the distich, that is, the hexameter and the pentameter, do not encroach upon each other, prevail over the cases of encroachment to only a moderate extent in Tibullus (60.0% as against 40.0%), but they prevail overwhelmingly in Lygdamus (79.1%) and in IV 13-14 (85.7%); IV 2-6 also (70.7%) stands here nearer to Lygdamus than to Tibullus (Cartault, pp. 271-277, 307, 309). Also, quite contrary to the usage of Tibullus, in IV 2-6 the distich containing four propositions is practically equal in number of cases to the distich containing two propositions (Cartault, pp. 268, 309), and in IV 13-14 it actually predominates, that is, it is relatively twice as frequent as in the two 'authentic' books (pp. 267, 307). Finally, in IV 2-6 and IV 7-12 we find that

completely than Tibullus and used the license of the first foot much more freely in allowing such elisions as *vi'di ego*, *e'rgo ego*, *e'rgo ubi*, *e'rgo amor*, &c. While adopting the Tibullan principle of avoiding elision, he therefore always remained bolder and freer at certain points than his predecessor. It is true that L. Müller (*R. M.*² 333 ff., 343, 360) seeks to account for this Ovidian freedom as wholly due to the 'familiar phrase' or the 'formula,' but this explanation seems a mere subterfuge and a begging of the question; see my "Licensed Feet in Latin Verse," *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield*, 251-272.—I have already discussed in a previous section (p. 237) the elision of a trochaic word ending in -ā before a short vowel, which occurs three times in the Sulpicia elegies, but is unknown to Tibullus. On the other hand, the extraordinary aversion which—owing, doubtless, to the nasalization of the preceding vowel—both the youthful Ovid (in *Sulpicia*, *Lygdamus*, *Panegyric*, *Culex*, *Dirae*) and also the mature Ovid exhibit to the synaloepha of syllables in *m*, appears to be shared with Tibullus; see Plésent, *Le Culex*, *Étude*, Paris 1910, p. 424.

in the beginning of the second member of the pentameter the dactylic word predominates over the trochaic word in the proportions of Lygdamus, i. e. the dactylic word is twice as frequent as the trochaic, not three times as frequent, as is the case in Tibullus (Cartault, pp. 147-148).

With the exception of the iambic word at the diaeresis of the pentameter in IV 2-6 and of the immense preponderance of the distichs without the encroachment of the two members in IV 13-14, these differences of usage are mostly trivial and unimportant in comparison with the weighty and decisive testimony of the schemata appearing in Book IV. It may be worth while first to remind the reader that, of the sixteen possible schemata, the favorites for the literature in the stichic measure are these: DSSS, 15%; DSDS, 11.8%; DDSS, 11%; SDSS, 10% (Hultgren, *Neue Jahrb.*, cvii, 1873, p. 747; Drobisch, *Ber. sächs. Ges.*, 1866, p. 125). Before I exhibit the full details, I may summarize briefly the most important facts relating to Book IV as follows: In IV 13-14, DSSD, the great schema of Ovid, which distinguishes him from all the other elegiac poets,⁹⁰ and which holds the first place in the *Heroides*, the *Tristia* and the *Consolatio ad Liviam*, is notably predominant (35.7%). The beautiful elegy IV 13 therefore contains its author's signature written across its face in the largest and clearest letters. *For it is not in fact the dactylic virtuosity, as scholars have erroneously fancied, but rather the usually high ratio of DSSD and of DDSD, which is as a rule the true distinguishing mark of Ovid's works, mature and juvenile alike.*⁹¹ On the other hand, DSSD is weak

⁹⁰ DSSD, which throws the dactyl into the usually spondaic fourth foot, is unimportant in Catullus and in the first three books of Propertius (about 7% and 6.7% respectively). Propertius, however, raises it to the fifth place in Bk. IV (9.1%) and gives it the third place in his last book (12.2%). These figures are taken from Hultgren, *Observ. metr.* 22, who follows the five-book division of Propertius.

⁹¹ DSSD is already strong in *Catalept.* IX and in the *Panegyric*, and sinks chiefly in the juvenile works in which Ovid is preoccupied with the dissyllabic close; see below, p. 312. In the mature Ovid it is the second schema (14.2%) in the elegiac hex. It has strongly attracted Ovid because of the perfection of its symmetry,—for reasons which are well analyzed by Plésent (*op. cit.* 433): "DSSD, the system of the framing of the feet (*l'encadrement des pieds*)—in the first member (the first four feet)—is also greatly appreciated by the author of the

in Tibullus, holding only the fifth rank in the first book and the sixth in the second (all six elegies, v. below p. 312), and it occupies, for example, only the eighth place in Virgil's *Aeneid* and the seventh place in Lucretius; its place in the stichic measure for the whole literature, according to Drobisch (*Ber. sächs. Ges.*, 1866, p. 125) is sixth (6.5%). Again in IV 2-6, SDSS, the schema which holds the second rank in Lygdamus (the youthful Ovid) and only the eighth rank in both books of Tibullus, is predominant (17.5%). Conversely, in IV 13-14, the great Tibullan schema, DSDS, which is one of the favorites of the literature and which does not fall below the second place in either book of Tibullus,⁹² but which is abnormally weak in

Culex. . . . This schema is artistically balanced, since it groups in the middle of the verse, two by two, the homogeneous elements, and frames them at the extremities by the heterogeneous elements: DSSDDS." It is with good reason therefore that, after giving a table of the five most frequent schemata of the *Culex*, Plésent concludes (p. 434): "C'est, à peu de chose près, la facture d'Ovide."—On the whole question of the dactyl in the fourth foot, Drobisch well says (*Ber. sächs. Gesellsch.* 1873, pp. 13, 16): "With the exception of Ovid and Aratus,—[the latter, however, in a very slight degree]—all the remaining Roman and Greek poets prefer (for the third and fourth feet) the hexameter of the form (. . ds) to that of the form (. . sd). . . . The Roman poets demand most decidedly a spondee for the fourth foot, through which of course the regular dactyl of the fifth foot is given especial prominence. Only in Ovid is this demand met in a surprisingly slight degree." On the other hand, the prevailing usage of the Latin poets is well described by Papillon and Haigh (*Bucolics and Georgics of Virgil*, p. 15): "In Virgil the rapid movement of the hexameter—(in those verses in which the dactyls predominate)—is almost always checked and the rhythm, as it were, collected and steadied by a spondaic fourth foot—e. g. Aen. I 45. 'Turbine corripuit scopuloque infixit acuto.' The spondaic fourth foot is indeed specially characteristic of Virgil's rhythm in the *Aeneid*." On the many schemata of the *Panegyric* which carry the dactyl into the fourth foot and which are therefore widely at variance with the usage of Tib., see the fine discussion of Ehrengreuber (X 7 f.). Ovid's preference for the dactyl in this foot is well shown also in the dactylic percentages given by Hultgren (*Neue Jahrb.* CVII, 1873, p. 751) for the first four feet of the hexameters of the *Fasti*, namely 1: 89.1%—2: 43.9%—3: 36.8%—4: 46.3%,—where, however, the dactylic percentage of the second foot is unusually low.

⁹² It holds the second place in the first book, and in the second book divides the supremacy with DDSS, v. below, p. 312.

the youthful Ovid and shows strength almost for the first time in IV 2-6 and in the *Panegyric*, reaches only 7.1% instead of the 15.1%, which is its ratio in the two books of Tibullus.⁹³ In the Sulpicia letters, IV 7-12, although DDSS is dominant, the second schema (15%) is SSSS, which stands so close to SDSS, and which, according to Hultgren, is the third schema of Lygdamus (11.0%),⁹⁴ and is still strong in the *Panegyric* and the early *Amores*. Finally, to turn to the pentameter, in both IV 2-6 and IV 13-14, the form SD, which, in a most peculiar and characteristic manner, is the pet aversion of Tibullus and has in his 'two books' a ratio of only 3.9%,⁹⁵ appears with the normal Ovidian percentage of 14.1. Extended comment upon these facts is unnecessary, since the metre—like the language—fairly shouts and cries aloud the name of its author. Similarly careful study has shown me that, in the case of II 3 and 5, the metrical evidence alone—inclusive of course of the spondaic preponderance—is fully sufficient clearly and definitely to separate these elegies from Tibullus;⁹⁶ the lan-

⁹³ Or 15.4%, if we exclude II 2, 3 and 5.

⁹⁴ Kleemann, using a different text, gives it 10.3% and makes it divide the third place with DDSS.

⁹⁵ Or 4.2%, if we exclude II 2, 3 and 5.

⁹⁶ From more than a score of evidences I will cite only two: The flagrant double violation of the "autonomy of the distich" in II 5 would alone be almost sufficient to condemn this elegy; cf. here II 5, 109 and 117 with Lyg. 1, 27 and *Catal.* 8, 5; 4, 3 and 7, and v. Cartault, *Distique Él.* 278 f. (For examples of occasional disregard of this unity of the distich in the mature Ovid, see L. Müller, *Res. Metr.*² 267.) Again his marked predilection for the hepthemimeral caesura—usually accompanied by the 'feminine' caesura of the third foot (Ehr. IX 71 f.; Cartault 172)—is one of the best-known characteristics of the genuine Tibullus, and the average percentage in all the elegies of the first book except the very earliest (I 4. 9. 8. 7) is 36.8 according to Krafft (28.7 according to Cartault). But as Krafft has well noted (*De artibus quas Tib. et Lygd. in versibus*, &c., p. 18), the ratio of this caesura is very low in the two "imperfect" and "insufficiently polished" elegies II 3 and 5,—only 18.6% as compared with 30.4% in the "more perfect" poems of Book II (1. 4. 6), which show Tibullus' mature art and his perfected norm. While this low ratio is by no means conclusive on the question of spuriousness, it yet constitutes a very important ground of suspicion; cf. here also Cartault, *Distique Él.* 157 ff., who, however, is much inferior at this point in his perceptions and conclusions to Krafft. Note especially that this low ratio is also true of

guage, however, and the mythology are equally convincing, and their evidence can be much more quickly grasped. This summary statement gives the main facts, but I must now present the complete details in order to exhibit in an orderly manner the development of the Ovidian metric from the *Catalepton* on.

There are important differences between the schemata preferred by Tibullus and those preferred by Ovid, which should be carefully noted. The three Tibullan favorites are DSSS, with 17.7% in the 'two books,' DSDS with 15.1% and DDSS, with 13.6%. The fourth schema of Tibullus is DDDS, with 8.4%.⁹⁷ The favorite schemata of the mature Ovid, on the other hand, are DSSS, DSSD and DDSS; next in importance are DDS and DS, which stand very closely together. The exact ratios for these five schemata in all the elegiac works of the mature Ovid (excepting only the *Sappho*, the *Consolatio* and the *Nux*) are 14.6%, 14.2%, 12.2%, 11.8%, and 11.2% respectively. The ratios in Ovid's stichic hexameters are only slightly different.⁹⁸ The foregoing statement means that, in the

the elegies of Book IV. Thus according to Cartault (*l. c.* 159 f.), in IV 2-6 it is only 21%, in IV 7-12 only 25%, and in IV 13-14 only 7.1%. *For the whole book it is only 19.8%.* See also below, p. 305, n. 105. Note also that there is just one case in Book IV of the hephthemimeral without the regular feminine caesura of the third foot, namely 4, 13: *interdum vovet, interdum. . .* Cartault aptly remarks (pp. 179, 173): "The two authentic books have only one example identical with this verse; it is II 3, 41: *praedator cupit immensos. . .*" Both these verses, it will be noted, are examples of the schema SDSS, which is very rare in Tib. Furthermore this use of the *molossic* word before the hephthemimeral caesura, which thus occurs twice in the Appendix, but never in the genuine Tib., is found four times in the *Panegyric*, as v. 44, 64, 91, 93: *inque vicem modo directo. . .* Hence Ehrengruber (IX 82) observes most acutely: "Tibullus, si mittimus II 3, 41, *qui addubitabitur*, et IV 4, 13: "Interdum vovet, interdum . . .," ubi figura anaphorae mitigatur, nusquam *molossica* verba ante *caes. hephth.* posuit, sed numerum dactylicum etiam in III. pede adamans longiorem vocem choriambicam ante *caes.* conlocavit, e. g. I 1, 77; 5, 1; II 6, 11." —Cartault (p. 179) wishes to recognize also a similar exceptional hephthemimeral in IV 3, 17: *tunc veniat licet ad casses | . . .* (rather than *ad | casses*).

⁹⁷ Compare here Cartault, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 f. If we omit II 2, 3 and 5, the ratios for the two books, according to Cartault's figures, are 17.9, 15.3, 13.9 and 8.5 respectively.

⁹⁸ The elegiac percentages have been carefully calculated by me from

effort to advance from DSSS, the simplest and easiest of the dactylic schemata, and to decrease the number of spondees in the hexameter, Tibullus proceeds mainly by way of DSDS and DDSS, Ovid mainly by way of DSSD, DDSS and DDSD. With the notable exception of DSDS, the five schemata named above are those which Ovid really preferred from the beginning and which are most frequent in *Catalepton IX*, written at the age of seventeen. Even in this early poem, however, he gave the fifth place (9.3%) to SSSS, and showed himself also favorable to SDSS (2 cases); the first form, he well knew, was a favorite with his great exemplar, Catullus,⁹⁹ the second with his intimate friend, Propertius. Partly for this reason, and partly in the effort to habituate himself to the dissyllabic closes of the distich, he was content for many years to give a great place to these two forms, both of which are so important in the stichic measure; hence SDSS is prominent in IV 2-6 and in the *Copa*, SSSS in the *Panegyric* (Ehr. IX 90), and both in the Lygdamus

Hultgren's complete tables for the separate elegiac works (*Observationes metr. in poetas elegiacos*, Leipzig 1871, pp. 26 f.); they include of course the so-called "spurious Epistles." For the stichic hexameter, Drobisch (*Ber. sächs. Ges.* 1873, p. 23) gives the following percentages computed for the first three books of the *Metamorphoses*: DSSS, 13.4%; DDSS, 13.4%; DSSD, 12.0%; DDSD, 11.3%; DSDS, 11.2%. (Note that DDSD, the fourth schema of Ovid, both stichic and elegiac, in the general stichic ratio stands only ninth,—5%, according to Drobisch; it is unimportant also in the elegy of Catullus and Propertius, and in the genuine Tib., who favors it slightly, it reaches only 6.5% in 504 hex.) The figures given by Plessis (*Métrie*, p. 50, § 61) and Plésent (*Le Culex*, p. 434, n. 2) are somewhat misleading, namely DSSD, 13.9%; DSSS, 13.6%; DSDS, 11.2%; DDSS, 10.7%. I owe to the kindness and painstaking accuracy of Professor C. W. E. Miller, the editor of this Journal—who has most generously supplied me with numerous other valuable data and references relating to the metric—the information that these percentages are taken from Drobisch's earlier article (*Ber. sächs. Ges.* 1866, p. 105) and are based only upon the first 560 normal verses of Ovid's *Metam.* I. According to the figures which Plessis (*l. c.* 52, § 64) has compiled by his own methods, the favorite schemata of the elegiac distich for the literature are DSSS, 15.7%; DDSS, 11%; DSDS, 10.8%; DSSD, 10.2%. The fact that DSSD holds the fourth place in these figures is evidently due to the great rôle which it plays in Ovid.

⁹⁹ In some of the elegies of the first book (5, 7, 8) Tibullus also gives the fifth or sixth place to SSSS.

poems. DSDS, which is the second schema of Tibullus and of the literature in general, *but which does not carry the dactyl into the fourth foot*, appealed to him in no wise at first; it does not occur at all in *Catal.* IX, shows only two cases in the *Catalepton* as a whole, and is barely present in IV 13-14, IV 7-12 and four of the Lygdamus poems. It is the second form, however,—no doubt by accident—in the short pieces, Lygd. 3 and 5, and is second, doubtless by natural development, in IV 2-6, in the *Halieutica*, and in the *Panegyric*; it is first in II 3, third in the *Ciris*, and fourth or fifth in the *Culex*. It never became, however, one of his three most frequent forms.¹⁰⁰ DSSD, on the other hand, the most characteristic of all his schemata, which is predominant in so many of his works and of his single poems, attracted him from the first, and in conjunction with his other favorite, DDSD, enabled him even in his youth to carry the dactyl to an extraordinary extent into the usually spondaic fourth foot.¹⁰¹ I may mention here also the substantial grounds on which Ribbeck (*App. Verg.* 12) and Birt (*Symbola ad hex. Lat.* 46) have identified Lygdamus with the author of *Catalepton* IX,¹⁰² viz. the 'playful mannerism of the style' in both cases, with a marked fondness for striking

¹⁰⁰ It is one of the symmetrical schemata. Plésent (*Le Culex*, p. 433) well calls it "the system of the interlacing of the feet (*l'entrelacement des pieds*), not only in the first member, but in the whole verse: DSDSDS." Note that it contains the same number of dactyls as DSSD, the arrangement which Ovid usually prefers.

¹⁰¹ Tibullus loved to begin the verse with a dactyl and, like the other Latin poets, to place a *spondee* in the fourth foot; see Christ, *Metrik*², p. 165. Ehrenguber, X 7, correctly notes that the usage of the *Panegyric* is very different.

¹⁰² See also Braum, *De monosyllabis ante caes.*, Marburg, 1906, pp. 28, 63. On the other hand, against the almost unanimous judgment of scholars, and by means of the most improbable hypotheses, Frank (*Class. Philol.* XV 34 ff.; 103 ff.) wishes to attribute both *Catal.* IX and the *Ciris* to Virgil. He is not likely to gain many adherents for this view, but he is quite right in ascribing both poems to the same author (p. 103) and is fully justified also in the neat tribute which he pays to the real merits of the *Ciris* as a youthful production of great promise (p. 105). The *Ciris* in truth is a very pretty poem of its kind. With the help of a prodigious memory, the innumerable borrowings and imitations which it shows are handled with extraordinary cleverness (cf. Drachmann, *Hermes* XLIII, 1908, p. 408, on vv. 369 ff.), while their excessive accumulation—sometimes extending to whole

forms of repetition, and the extraordinary strictness which both poems exhibit in treating the caesura. Thus, in 145 hexameters, Lygdamus has the penthemimeral caesura in all except four cases (Krafft, *op. cit.*, p. 18; Cartault, p. 169). Similarly, in 32 hexameters, *Catalepton* IX always shows the penthemimeral, which is here invariably accompanied by at least one of the two secondary masculine caesurae.¹⁰³ Upon this masterly¹⁰⁴ treatment of the caesura in youth is based the notable predilection of the mature Ovid for the favorite Roman penthemimeral, in the use of which he is the great adept and the supreme artist (Müller, *R. M.*², pp. 222, 79).¹⁰⁵ To return from this digression to the

groups of verses—clearly betokens the immaturity and the levity of youth; cf. *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* 1921, p. 154, notes 13, 14. As Leo has well shown ("Vergil und die Ciris," *Hermes* XXXVII [1902], p. 54), such flagrant and immoderate plagiarism (*furtum*) was expressly condemned by the best Augustan critics (see Hor. *Ep.* 1, 3, 15 ff.), and Ovid himself fully recognizes (*Trist.* 4, 10, 64) that the poem is a 'faulty' one. Hence it no doubt provoked unfavorable criticism, and was wisely suppressed by its author. It is largely owing to such restraint that he was able to write later (*Trist.* 4, 10, 123): *nec qui detrectat praesentia, Livor iniquo | Ullum de nostris dente momordit opus.*

¹⁰³ These grounds alone could not lead us to a certain conclusion except for the common relation to Messala and the complete agreement of vocabulary. We may note that the *Copa* also, in 19 hex., always has the penthemimeral caesura—a usage infinitely at variance with that of Virgil. Similarly the first 47 verses of the *Lydia* show only the penthemimeral, which is almost invariable also in the great *Priapea*, etc.

¹⁰⁴ Paroli, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 52.

¹⁰⁵ The youthful Ovid afterwards greatly relaxed the strictness of his rules at this point, and although he never equalled the usage of Tibullus (see above, p. 301, n. 96), yet both in the *Panegyric* and in the *Sulpicia* elegies he allowed the hephthemimeral rather freely, if accompanied by one of the three secondary caesurae; thus 13 cases (18.3%) occur in IV 2—6 and 13—14. In the *Culex* also the hephthemimeral reaches, according to the figures of Plésent (*l. c.* 440), 16%, but according to those of Eldridge (*Num Culex et Ciris ab eodem poeta, &c.*, Giessen 1914, p. 31) 22.6%. Ehrenguber (IX 71) thinks that the hephthemimeral is the principal caesura in 25.1% of the verses of the *Panegyric*, but this is doubtless much too high an estimate. Yet Ovid's mature works show very clearly the effects of his early training, and he gives to the penthemimeral, which is far the best of all Roman caesurae, a ratio of more than six to one instead of Vergil's ratio of three or four to one. Thus in the first book of the *Ars* the penthemimeral reaches 86%, the hephthemimeral only 14%.

various schemata, the following table will serve to show their frequency in the juvenile works, omitting for the present the *Aetna*, *Dirae*, etc., but including the *Culex*, *Ciris*, *Copa*, *Rosetum* and five of the early *Amores*:

Form.	Catalept. IX. 32 hex.	Halicut. 130 hex.	Lygdamus, All six elegies. 145 hex.	Lygdamus, Elegy 4. 48 hex.	Sulp. Letters, IV 7-12. 20 hex.	IV 2-6. 57 hex.	IV 13-14. 14 hex.	Pareg. 211 hex.
DSSS	7 ¹⁰⁶ 21.9	8 6.2	27 ¹⁰⁸ 18.6	11 ¹⁰⁹ 22.9	2 ¹¹⁰ 10.0	6 10.5	3 21.4	37 ¹¹¹ 17.2
DSDS	0 0	19 14.6	9 6.2	1 2.1	1 5.0	9 15.8	1 7.1	29 13.7
DSSD	4 12.5	8 6.2	8 5.5	1 2.1	1 5.0	3 5.3	5 35.7	18 8.5
DSDD	1 3.1	1 .8	4 2.8	0 0	2 10.0	3 5.3	1 7.1	9 4.3
DDSS	5 ¹⁰⁷ 15.6	11 8.5	15 10.3	3 6.3	4 20.0	9 15.8	2 14.2	22 10.4
DDDS	1 3.1	5 3.8	9 6.2	5 10.4	1 5.0	5 8.8	1 7.1	16 7.5
DDSD	4 12.5	6 4.6	7 4.8	2 4.1	1 5.0	2 3.5	0 0	6 2.9
DDDD	0 0	4 3.1	2 1.4	0 0	0 0	1 1.7	0 0	6 2.9
SDSS	2 6.2	21 16.2	17 11.8	9 18.8	2 10.0	10 17.5	1 7.1	7 3.3
SDDS	0 0	9 6.9	11 7.6	3 6.3	0 0	2 3.5	0 0	12 5.7
SDSD	2 6.2	7 5.4	7 4.8	4 8.3	1 5.0	1 1.7	0 0	10 4.7
SDDD	0 0	3 2.3	1 0.7	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	5 2.4
SSSS	3 9.3	9 6.9	15 10.3	3 6.3	3 15.0	0 0	0 0	15 7.1
SSDS	1 3.1	9 6.9	8 5.5	3 6.3	1 5.0	2 3.5	0 0	7 3.3
SSSD	0 0	5 3.8	4 2.8	2 4.1	0 0	3 5.3	0 0	10 4.7
SSDD	1 3.1	5 3.8	1 0.7	1 2.1	1 5.0	1 1.7	0 0	2 1.1

Form.	Culex. 410 hex.	Ciris. 527 hex.	Copa. 19 hex.	Am. I 2. 26 hex.	Am. I 13. 21 hex.	Am. I 15. 21 hex.	Am. III 8 33 hex.	Am. III 10. 24 hex.
DSSS	54 13.2	97 18.4	3 15.8	4 15.4	3 14.3	3 14.3	8 24.2	6 25.0
DSDS	35 8.5	56 10.6	2 10.5	4 15.4	3 14.3	1 4.8	2 6.1	1 4.2
DSSD	38 9.3	31 5.9	1 5.2	6 23.1	0 0	5 23.8	4 12.1	3 12.5
DSDD	12 2.9	8 1.5	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	1 3.0	1 4.2
DDSS	64 15.6	73 13.9	1 5.2	2 7.7	2 9.5	2 9.5	4 12.1	3 12.5
DDDS	35 8.5	45 8.5	1 5.2	1 3.8	1 4.8	2 9.5	2 6.1	1 4.2
DDSD	27 6.6	30 5.7	3 15.8	3 11.5	2 9.5	9 0	1 3.0	5 20.8
DDDD	10 2.4	12 2.3	1 5.2	1 3.8	3 14.3	0 0	1 3.0	0 0
SDSS	32 8.1	49 9.3	4 21.1	0 0	2 9.5	1 4.8	1 3.0	2 8.3
SDDS	29 7.1	23 4.4	1 5.2	1 3.8	0 0	1 4.8	2 6.1	0 0
SDSD	17 4.2	13 2.5	2 10.5	0 0	2 9.5	2 9.5	3 9.1	0 0
SDDD	10 2.4	7 1.3	1 5.2	1 3.8	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
SSSS	18 4.4	30 5.7	1 5.2	1 3.8	2 9.5	1 4.8	0 0	0 0
SSDS	13 3.2	26 4.9	1 5.2	1 3.8	1 4.8	1 4.8	1 3.0	0 0
SSSD	7 1.7	20 3.8	1 5.2	1 3.8	0 0	1 4.8	1 3.0	1 4.2
SSDD	8 1.9	7 1.3	1 5.2	0 0	0 0	1 4.8	2 6.1	1 4.2

¹⁰⁶ Or 8 (25.0%), if v. 43, with uncertain reading, belongs here.

¹⁰⁷ Or 6 (18.8%), if v. 43 belongs here.

¹⁰⁸ Kleemann's figures are followed, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

¹⁰⁹ Cartault is followed, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

The relative frequency of the various schemata may be shown much more clearly to the eye by means of a different arrangement. For the sake of both brevity and perspicuity, I select in the presentation the eight *schemata* which seem most important for the formative period, and omit the rest:

Catalepton IX, 32 hex.

DSSS	....7[8]	cases, 21.9[25.0]%
DDSS	....5[6]	" 15.6[18.8]%
DSSD	....4	" 12.5%
DDSD	....4	" 12.5%
SSSS	....3	" 9.3%
SDSS	....2	" 6.2%
DDDS	....1	" 3.1%
DSDS	....0	" 0%

Halieutica, 130 hex.¹¹⁰

SDSS	.....21	cases, 16.2%
DSDS	.....19	" 14.6%
DDSS	.....11	" 8.5%
SSSS	.....9	" 6.9%
DSSD	.....8	" 6.2%
DDSD	.....6	" 4.6%
DDDS	.....5	" 3.8%

Lygdamus, 145 hex.

DSSS	.....27	cases, 18.6%
SDSS	.....17	" 11.8%
DDSS	.....15	" 10.3%
SSSS	.....15	" 10.3%
DDDS	.....9	" 6.2%
DSDS	.....9	" 6.2%
DSSD	.....8	" 5.5%
DDSD	.....7	" 4.8%

Lygdamus 4, 48 hex.

DSSS	.....11	cases, 22.9%
SDSS	.....9	" 18.8%
DDDS	.....5	" 10.4%
DDSS	.....3	" 6.3%
SSSS	.....3	" 6.3%
DDSD	.....2	" 4.1%
DSSD	.....1	" 2.1%
DSDS	.....1	" 2.1%

¹¹⁰ Here, and also in IV 2-6, IV 13-14, Cartault is followed.

¹¹¹ Ehrengruber is followed here; Lederer is followed in the *Culex* and *Ciris*.

¹¹² Not recognizing the fact that the *Halieutica* is a juvenile work, Birt (*Kritik u. Hermeneutik*, Müller's *Handbuch* I, 3, Munich 1913, p. 23) attacks its authenticity on the ground that, contrary to the rule of metrical elegance, it admits a spondaic word in the first foot of the hex. once in every seventeen verses, while in the last book of the *Ex Ponto* this happens only once in every forty verses. The *Hal.*, however, is similar enough at this point to the *Lygdamus* and the Sulpicia Letters (IV 7-12), which show the spondaic word in the first foot once in every ten hexameters, or to the early elegy *Am.* 1, 15, which shows the spondaic word once in every seven verses! For, as I have said elsewhere, it was with reluctance that Ovid, the wonderfully gifted narrator, turned away from the 'inimitable spontaneity' of Catullus, who—for example—in the 24 pentameters of c. 67 comes very near having a spondaic word in the first foot once in every three verses. Birt also assails the *Hal.* because it employs some words which Ovid afterwards avoided, but of the words in Birt's list, we may note that *properare* with the acc. occurs Paneg. 205, *viridare* Cu. 50, *denuntiare* Lygd. 5, 5, *Aetn.* 235, &c.

Sulpicia Letters (IV 7-12), 20 hex.

Copa, 19 hex.

SDSS	4 cases,	21.1%
DSSS	3 "	15.8%
DDSD	3 "	15.8%
DSDS	2 "	10.5%
DDSS	1 "	5.2%
DSSD	1 "	5.2%
SSSS	1 "	5.2%
DDDS	1 "	5.2%

Rosetum, 25 hex.

DSSD	5 cases,	20%
DSDS	3 "	12%
DDSD	2 "	8%
DDDS	2 "	8%
(DSDD)	2 "	8%
DSSS	1 "	4%
DDSS	0 "	0%
SDSS	0 "	0%
SSSS	0 "	0%

(I follow here the reading of Riese, *Anth. Lat.* 646, for v. 1: mordentia frigora sensu; Peiper, in his edition of Ausonius, reads mordenti a frigore sensu [DSSS].)

Am. I 2, 26 hex.

DSSD	6 cases,	23.1%
DSSS	4 "	15.4%
DSDS	4 "	15.4%
DDSD	3 "	11.5%
DDSS	2 "	7.7%
SSSS	1 "	3.8%
DDDS	1 "	3.8%
SDSS	0 "	0 %

Am. I 13, 21 hex.

DSSS	3 cases,	14.3%
DSDS	3 "	14.3%
DDSS	2 "	9.5%
SDSS	2 "	9.5%
SSSS	2 "	9.5%
DDSD	2 "	9.5%
DDDS	1 "	4.8%
DSSD	0 "	0 %

Am. I 15, 21 hex.

DSSD	5 cases,	23.8%
DSSS	3 "	14.3%
DDSS	2 "	9.5%
DDDS	2 "	9.5%
SDSS	1 "	4.8%
SSSS	1 "	4.8%
DSDS	1 "	4.8%
DDSD	0 "	0 %

Am. III 8, 33 hex.

DSSS	8 cases,	24.2%
DDSS	4 "	12.1%
DSSD	4 "	12.1%
DDDS	2 "	6.1%
SDSS	1 "	3.0%
DDSD	1 "	3.0%
SSSS	0 "	0 %

already in the prooemium both of the *Culex* and of the *Ciris*—at least in an experimental way—the artistic heaping up of dactyls, in order to indicate the gay and light character of the verse (*versus mollis* or *gracilis*), as Cu. 1 lusimus, Octavi, gracili modulante Thalia; 35 f. mollia sub tenui decurrere carmina versu | Viribus acta suis Phoeboduce ludere gaudent; Ci. 19 f. interdum ludere nobis | Et gracilem molli liceat pede claudere versum. See here the excellent discussion and remarks of G. May, *De stilo epylliorum Romanorum*, Kiliae 1910, pp. 100 ff.: "Poeta tenuitatem et mollitiem carminis sui gracilibus dactylicis praenuntiat his in versibus. . . . Consulto poeta *Ciris* his dactylis utitur, &."—Similar examples occur in other parts of the *Ciris*, cf. May, p. 101. Plésent (*op. cit.* 431, 435 f.) has also discussed very admirably the expressive and picturesque use of dactyls which is so characteristic a feature of the *Culex*.

Am. III 10, 24 hex.

DSSS	6 cases,	25.0%
DDSD	5 "	20.8%
DDSS	3 "	12.5%
DSSD	3 "	12.5%
SDSS	2 "	8.3%
DDDS	1 "	4.2%
DSDS	1 "	4.2%
SSSS	0 "	0 %

I may now discuss in somewhat fuller detail the use of the three forms SDSS, DSSD and DSDS by the elegiac poets:

SDSS.—This is the second form in Lygdamus (11.8%), with SSSS holding the third place (11.0% according to Hultgren); it is the first form in IV 2-6 (17.5%) and the second form in II 3 (15.0%);¹¹⁴ it is the first form in the *Halieutica* (16.2%), with SSSS at 6.9%, and also the first form in the *Copa*, reaching 21.1%, with SSSS at 5.2%. These remarkable facts have by no means escaped the notice of Cartault, but unfortunately he allows his metric to remain wholly in the clouds and never brings it to earth. Thus he says frankly (p. 31): "Lygdamus differs very sharply from Tibullus in the fact that, in the hexameter, the form SDSS holds the second rank in his pieces as a whole, while in the two books of Tibullus it occupies only the eighth rank. It is remarkable that the same form occupies the first rank in the pieces IV 2-6, which this peculiarity, however, is insufficient to lead us to attribute to Lygdamus." Again he writes respecting IV 2-6 (pp. 27, 307): "The predominance of SDSS is contrary to the usage of Tibullus, since this form never prevails in any authentic piece and reaches only the eighth rank in Books I and II; there is an anomaly here." In fact, in the 'two books' of Tibullus (including II 2, 3 and 5) SDSS has an average of only 5.0%;¹¹⁵ it is entirely absent from four poems, and its highest rank in the authentic elegies is fourth in I 1 (10.5%), and fourth or fifth in I 4 (9.5%) and in II 4

¹¹⁴ Note that II 3 has, for the distich, only 50.0% of dactyls and only 76.8% of dactylic beginnings. The proportion in this case of these latter is close to that of II 5 (77.8%) and considerably above that of IV 2-6, 13-14 (69.7%), v. *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* 1920, p. 163.

¹¹⁵ Omitting II 2, 3 and 5, it has an average, according to Cartault's figures, of only 4.6%.

(10.0%). On the other hand, it is a favorite with Propertius, and throughout his first four books it is the second schema, reaching 14.9% in Book I and 13.1% in Book II, but it is rare in other elegiac poets.¹¹⁶ It has only 6.2% in *Catalept. IX*, but SSSS has 9.3%;¹¹⁷ again it has only 3.3% in the *Panegyric*, but here again SSSS has 7.1%. It has 7.1% in IV 13-14 (14 hex.); in IV 7-12 it has 10.0% and SSSS has 15.0%. It is the fourth form in the *Ciris* (9.3%), with SSSS at 5.7%. In the early *Medicamen Fac.* it still shows strength (10.0%), though ranking only as the fifth schema. Since it involves a spondaic beginning, it has been revised out of the *Amores* as a rule (only 4.5%), but *Am. III* 3 still shows 12.5% (3 cases), *III* 14 12% (3 cases), with SSSS in each case at 4%, while I 13 has 9.5% (2 cases), with SSSS also at 9.5%; etc. In the *Consolatio* it still stands at 6.3%.

DSSD.—This is the predominant form in IV 13-14 (35.7%); it is the third or fourth scheme in *Catalepton IX* (12.5%) and in the whole *Catalepton* the third (10.4%),—the third also in the great *Priapea* (12.6%); it is the fourth scheme in the *Panegyric* (8.5%), with DDSD at 9%, and it divides the second place with DDSS in II 5 (11.5%); in the *Ciris* it is the sixth form (5.9%), with DDSD at 5.7%, in the *Culex* the third form (9.2%), with DDSD at 6.6%; in the beautiful and exquisite *Rosetum* (*Anth. Lat.*, Riese, 646), it is the first form (20%), with DDSD and DSDD each at 8%. It often holds the first place also in Ovid's mature works, just as in IV 13-14 and in the *Rosetum*. In the 'two books' of Tibullus, however, it has an average of only 7.0% or, if we omit II 2, 3 and 5, of only 6.0%. Its most favorable position in the genuine elegies of Tibullus is in I 2 (12.0%) and I 6 (11.9%), where it is out-ranked by two forms (DDSS and DSSS, or DDDS), and divides the third place with two or three others (DSDS, DSSS, DDSD, SSDS).¹¹⁸ It reaches the fourth or fifth place also in I 8 (10.3%) and II 6 (11.5%). Cartault himself well says

¹¹⁶ Hultgren, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹¹⁷ In the whole *Catal.* it has 9%, with SSSS at 6%; in the great *Priapea* it has 7.5%, with SSSS at 3.2%.

¹¹⁸ That DSSD, with 7 cases, should divide the second place with DDSS in II 5, attaining 11.5%, is an evidence of spuriousness.

(p. 25): "The form DSSD does not predominate in any of the pieces of the two authentic books; in the first book as a whole it reaches only the fifth rank, in the second only the sixth rank." Again he says (p. 306): "The predominance of the form DSSD is astonishing; this form never predominates in Tibullus." Further he expressly writes (p. 21) respecting DSSD and DDS D, the two schemes of which Ovid is so fond, as follows: "As a general rule Tibullus avoids these forms and they insinuate themselves only into pieces of some length." Yet against the clear metrical evidence he seeks to ascribe IV 13-14 to Tibullus (pp. 25, 306)!

In the poems, which show preoccupation with the dissyllabic close, DSSD sinks greatly; thus in Lygdamus it reaches only 5.5% (with DDS D at 4.8% and DSDD at 2.8%); in IV 2-6 it has only 5.3% (with DDS D at 3.5% and DSDD at 5.3%), and it shows only 5.0% in IV 7-12 (with DDS D at 5.0% and DSDD at 10.0%). Later it becomes one of the three chief schemata of Ovid; thus it holds the third rank in *Am.* I. (11.5%) and the second in the *Fasti* (15.0%). In the *Heroides* (first series) it ranks as the first schema (15.0%), and it is easily first also throughout the five books of the *Tristia* (17.9%), rising in *Trist.* III. to 17.8%, in *Trist.* I. to 18.9%, etc. To give examples of single poems, it shows 23.1% (6 cases) in *Am.* I 2, and 23.8% (5 cases) in *Am.* I 15; in both of these it is the predominant schema. As has already been stated, it is unimportant in Propertius except in his fifth book, where it is the third schema (12.2%).

DS D S.—This form is weak in IV 13-14 (only 7.1%); it is preceded by three forms and equalled by three others. In Tibullus on the other hand, it is the second schema of Book I., and in Book II. (six elegies) it divides the first place with DDS S; its proportion for these two books is 15.1, or if we exclude II 2, 3 and 5, it is 15.3. Of the fourteen genuine elegies of Tibullus, there are only three in which DS D S falls below 11.9%, viz. I 7 (6.2%), I 9 (7.3%) and II 6 (wholly lacking), and in these elegies the first place is then filled by the Tibullan favorites, DS S S and DDS S, not by a form like DSSD, to which Tibullus is averse.¹¹⁹ Hence Cartault justly

¹¹⁹ The second place also in these elegies is filled by the favorites

writes here (p. 25): "There is reason to remark upon the rarity of DSDS." If, however, we examine with care the usage of the youthful Ovid, we shall have little cause for surprise at the weakness which this form exhibits in IV 13-14. It is wholly lacking in *Catalepton* IX; it holds only the sixth or seventh place (6.2%) in the *Lygdamus* poems as a whole, though in the short pieces, *Lygd.* 3 and 5, it is the second form (15.8%, 18.7%), and it reaches only 5% in IV 7-12. It first shows real strength in the *Sulpicia* elegies (IV 2-6), where it is the second or third form (15.8%), in II 3, where it is the first form (20%), in the *Halieutica*, where it is the second (14.6%), in the *Panegyric*, where it is also the second (13.7%), in the *Ciris*, where it is the third (10.6%), and in the *Culex*, where it is one of the two standing forth. Though the second form in some single elegies of the *Amores*, it ranks only as the fifth form (about 10%) in the three books as a whole.

The close relations which exist between the *Lygdamus* elegies and the *Sulpicia* letters (IV 7-12) may be seen at a glance both from the table given above (p. 306) and from a comparison of the schemata presented in Cartault (pp. 27-31); note especially the proportions of SSSS, SDSS, DSDS DSSD and SD. It is not my purpose, however, to discuss these relations in detail in the present paper.

The schemata of the Pentameter may next be given:

Forms.	Lygdamus, All Catalepton IX.		Lygdamus, six elegies.		Sulpicia Elegies.		Am. I 2.		Am. I 13.		Am. I 15.		Am. III 8.		Am. III 10.	
	IX.		IX.		IV 7-12.		IV 2-6.		IV 13-14.		I 2.		I 13.		I 15.	
	32 pent.	145 pent.	48 pent.	20 pent.	57 pent.	14 pent.	26 pent.	21 pent.	21 pent.	33 pent.	24 pent.					
DS	16 50.0	62 42.7	16 33.3	8 40.0	30 52.6	5 35.7	16 61.6	12 57.1	6 28.6	22 66.7	11 45.8					
DD	7 21.9	23 15.9	5 10.4	0 0	10 17.5	3 21.4	4 15.4	4 19.0	8 38.0	4 12.1	5 20.8					
SD	3 9.3	22 15.2	9 18.8	4 20.0	8 14.0	2 14.3	3 11.5	2 9.5	4 19.0	2 6.1	4 16.7					
SS	6 18.8	38 26.2	17 35.4	8 40.0	9 15.8	4 28.5	3 11.5	3 14.3	3 14.3	5 15.1	4 16.7					

SD.—It will be observed that SD occurs 8 times in the 57 pentameters of IV 2-6 and twice in the 14 pentameters of IV 13-14, reaching 14.0% and 14.3% respectively, and almost attaining equality with SS. This high ratio is entirely contrary

DSSS, DDSS and DSDD, the last becoming a favorite in the second book and holding the fourth rank in this book (8.9%).

to the usage of Tibullus, whose marked aversion to SD is one of the most striking characteristics of his entire versification. Cartault states this fact clearly (p. 24): "The form SD is extremely rare and is always at the end of the lists in Tibullus, except in I 7, where it prevails over SS by a unit, which is accidental." In fact, SD occurs only 24 times in the 616 pentameters of Tibullus (two books), reaching only 3.9%, or if we exclude II 2, 3 and 5, it occurs only 21 times in 503 pentameters, reaching only 4.2%.¹²⁰ Its highest percentages are 7.3 in I 4 and 7.7 in I 1. Cartault comments correctly enough on IV 2-6 (p. 27): "The relative frequency of SD is astonishing, while II 5, in 61 pentameters, offers only one case;¹²¹ there is here another anomaly (in addition to the predominance of SDSS)." Again in IV 13-14 he notes (p. 25): "SD is relatively frequent. . . . The remainder conforms to Tibullan usage." This frequency of SD, which is so contrary to the manner of Tibullus, is, however, quite in accordance with the usage of Ovid, who throughout his mature works treats SD and SS almost alike and usually gives to each a proportion of about 10.0%, falling, however, sometimes as low as 8.7% (*Am. II.*) and rising as high as 13.3% (*Am. II.*) or even 16.0% (*Medic. Fac.*).¹²² In the six Lygdamus elegies, however, SS was considerably more frequent and stood at 26.2% (Kleemann), while SD stood at 15.2%. Here again Cartault, who is so unfortunate in his conclusions (pp. 306-310), states the bare facts correctly (p. 32): "SD reaches in Lygd. 1-4 and 5 equality with

¹²⁰ See Eichner, *op. cit.*, Table foll. p. 92, and p. 66, where he speaks of "the authors of Book IV." as differing widely from Tib. in this usage. The facts are also correctly stated by Knappe, *op. cit.* 28 f., who seeks in vain to explain them away by ingenious special pleading.

¹²¹ This striking phenomenon is possibly the result of accident, just as it is doubtless accidental that DD is entirely absent from the Sulpicia letters (IV 7-12, 20 pent.), while SS, which stood at about the same ratio as DD in the Lygdamus elegies and in IV 2-6 and 13-14, holds its own with 8 cases (SS in II 5, with 11 cases [18%] is strongly represented). More probably, however, in the case of so scrupulous an artist as Ovid, it is the result of express imitation applied to elegies that were to be mingled so closely with those of Tib.; thus also II 2 in 11 pent. has no case of SD, and II 3 in 41 pent. has only 2 cases (4.9%).

¹²² Hultgren, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

DD, while in Tibullus, with the insignificant exception of I 7, SD remains in the lowest rank and, in the two authentic books, with the lowest figures."

SS.—It is noticeable that SS occupies the second rank (28.5%) in IV 13-14 and approaches very closely to equality with DD in IV 2-6 (9 cases against 10, or 15.8% against 17.5%). This is much nearer to the usage of Lygdamus (above, p. 313; Cartault, p. 31) than to that of Tibullus.¹²³ Cartault says correctly (p. 24): "DD predominates always over SS in Tibullus, except in I 3 and II 5, and it reaches equality in I 4." Note finally, as is so often the case in Catullus, that SS is actually equal to DS (40.0%) in IV 7-12.

DD.—A brief word may be said respecting the early elegy *Am.* I 15, which is so remarkable in showing only 42.9% of dactyls in the hexameter, but 61.9% in the pentameter. The high percentage in the pentameter is clearly due to the thorough-going character of the revision. For the elegy actually shows a predominance of the schema DD (8 cases with 28.0%) over the great basic schema DS (6 cases with 28.6%), such as is possible only for the later Ovid. Thus the youthful Ovid, in IV 2-6 and 13-14, gives to DS 49.3%, to DD 18.3%; similarly in the four early elegies (*Am.* I 2.13; III 8.10), DS shows 58.6% (61 cases), DD 16.3% (17 cases). In Book II of the revised *Amores*, however, DS stands at 47.5%, while DD rises to 27.0% and is predominant in II 6 (32.3% against 29.0%) and nearly equal in II 16 (38.5% against 46.2%), etc.

We have seen that Ovid himself preferred certain types of verse from the first; we have seen also that in his formative years the favorite verse-forms of Catullus and Propertius attracted him greatly. Especially does the influence of the well-loved Catullus—'doctus'¹²⁴ Catullus—stand out sharply in Lygd.

¹²³ Eichner (*op. cit.* 65) correctly notes that "the proportion of SS in Catullus is above $\frac{1}{3}$, in the two books of Tibullus about $\frac{1}{4}$, in Lygd. about $\frac{1}{4}$, in Book IV nearly $\frac{1}{4}$." (Actually in the genuine 503 pentameters of Tib. the ratio is 12.5%, in Lygd. 26.2%, in II 5 18.0%, in IV 2-7 17.7%, in IV 13-14 28.5%, in Book IV as a whole 23.1%.) Knappe (*op. cit.* 28) and Zingerle (*Abh.* II 76) seek to break the force of these facts somewhat by Gruppe's hypothesis of the entire separateness of IV 2-6 (or 2-7).

¹²⁴ Lygd. 6. 41; *Am.* 3, 9, 62.

4-5, in IV 7-12 and in the *Ciris*.¹²⁵ After a long apprenticeship to the great masters, however, Ovid finally achieved an independent and distinctive art of his own; in many cases, by means of art and acquired mastery, he was even able to return to nature and the choices of his earliest youth. The stately and elegant fabric of artistic verse which we now possess in the received *corpus* did not suddenly spring by magical means out of airy nothingness; rather it was the result of the labors and studies of full twenty years (27 B. C.—8 B. C.). *Tantae molis erat Nasonis condere carmen*. When, we may ask, was the poet's work at last complete, and to what date shall we assign the *Heroides* in their present form? Evidently they were not composed *before* the year 10 B. C., when Ovid was already thirty-three. If we seek a more precise date, we are confronted with a new problem, viz. the authorship of the *Consolatio ad Liviam* on the death of Drusus and of the *Elegia Maecenatis*.¹²⁶ These two epicedia¹²⁷ were composed in B. C. 9 and 8 respectively, and do not yet exhibit, at least in their hexameters, the full virtuosity. It is quite clear that they are the last of the 'juvenile works' of Ovid and that they will fit neatly into the general scheme of his apprenticeship. Only extremely careful tests applied both to the language and the metre can solve the various problems which they offer and perhaps fix more nearly the date of the *Heroides*.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ See above, pp. 307 ff.

¹²⁶ It is well known that both of these have the same author.

¹²⁷ Like Statius, Ovid was immensely fond of writing epicedia. The one upon Tibullus (*Am.* III 9) is still preserved; those upon Messalla and Augustus have been lost.

¹²⁸ On the basis of the schemata, Ehrengruber (X, 18) correctly pronounces the *Consolatio* Ovidian; I may add that, in all the lengthy disquisitions which have been written upon this poem—including that of Skutsch in Pauly-Wissowa—I have never yet been able to find a single really serious or weighty reason advanced for doubting its authenticity. For Baehrens' favorable judgment upon the merits of the *Maecenas*, see *P. L. M.* I 123 f.—Since writing the above reference to the date of the *Heroides*, I have made further studies, and am now able to announce that, so far at least as concerns the Epistles of Paris and of Helena (*Her.* XVI and XVII), I have discovered the explanation of the metrical anomalies which have attracted the attention of scholars since the editio Veneta (1484) and since Scaliger, and am able to

A brief final word may be added respecting the text of Tibullus. Beyond question the Elegies II 1, 4 and 6—as the metrical schemata alone sufficiently demonstrate—are substantially his own, yet no construction occurring in these poems can be regarded as certainly Tibullan, unless it be confirmed by the testimony of the first book, since it will always be possible to suppose that a few single lines contain the interpolations or the corrections of Ovid. For Ovid comes between us and the historic Tibullus, very much as Paul comes between us and the historic Jesus. Jesus is eclipsed by Paul, Tibullus is merged in Ovid. It is possible fully to restore neither the one nor the other. The more complex and more forceful personalities have obscured the more ideal, the simpler and the more naïve originals. The great disciples—summoned to their task by manifest destiny, and both alike “by Death’s unequal hand controll’d”—have shaped and moulded the plastically incomplete and unfinished work of their lamented and glorified mas-

establish the comparatively early date of these two Epistles. For they belong most clearly, not to the time either of the *Metamorphoses* or of the *Tristia*, as many have supposed, but to the close of the formative period when Ovid was still engaged with “metrical experiments.” A single proof of this fact may be mentioned here. These two Epistles are entirely similar to *Catal.* IX, *Lygdamus*, *Arguments to the Aeneid*, *Lydia*, *Copa* and *Priapea* in experimentation with the caesura (see above, p. 305), that is, in 322 hex. they exhibit the Roman penthemimeral in all except 4 cases (Birt, *Rhein. Mus.* XXXII (1877), p. 390; Clark, *H. S. C. P.* XIX 134)! The poems of the Vergilian Appendix also may all without exception be justly termed “metrical experiments.” At first the remarkable vacillation or “wobbling” which they show with regard to certain metrical elegancies is infinitely perplexing to the investigator, but after much study and reflection the true explanation becomes evident. The youthful artist seeks in the end to perfect himself in very many difficult refinements of form—there are at least ten or twelve principal ones,—but in each poem or series of poems he purposely devotes himself to only seven or eight of the entire number and concentrates his attention almost entirely upon these. Therefore in one series of pieces we find him relaxing his rigor especially with respect to elision, in a second series with respect to monosyllables before the caesura, in a third with respect to the avoidance of the fourth trochee, in a fourth with reference to the dissyllabic close of the pentameter, etc. Thus he moves slowly but steadily forward to the great consummation,—the supreme achievement seen in the *Ars*, the

ters. In all this there is nothing surprising. For just as in the completed canon of the New Testament the writings of Paul, the legal specialist and the versatile eclectic, overweigh upon the whole the original gospel of the simple and sublime Nazarene, so in the finished Tibullan volume—which is dedicated with a single purpose to the glory of Messalla's house—the effusions of the brilliant Ovid, the professional man of letters and the practiced rhetorician, largely supersede the genuine works of the gentle and sincere Tibullus, who was Nature's unspoiled and unsophisticated child and a spirit truly akin to Shelley or to Keats,—England's sweet singers who were nurtured in a far distant clime and lent lustre to another golden age.¹²⁹

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perfected *Heroides* (I-XV) and the second *Amores*, in which all the preciosities are evenly blended and tempered, and the unquestioned zenith of classical art is attained to the wonder and delight of all his Roman successors (cf. L. Müller, *Res Metrica*², pp. 79, 96, 144, 522). The vulgar assumption that our poet's consummate art was a purely miraculous endowment and was in evidence from the first, is of course an utter fallacy, but the whole subject of the "metrical experiments" requires a separate treatment, which I now have in preparation. It is worth while, however, to emphasize here once more the fact that the received Ovidian corpus breaks up at at least four points: (1) the *Halieutica*; (2) the early *Amores*; (3) the early double *Epistles*; (4) the *Medicamen Faciei*. The view of Jacoby (*Rh. Mus.* 1905, p. 71) as to the chronology of Ovid's received works is essentially correct; Riese's conjecture mentioned by me above (*A. J. P.* XLIV 12, n. 29 and 18, n. 44) as to the early date of the *Heroides* is wholly erroneous, except as it may apply in a modified form to the six double *Epistles* (XVI-XXI).

¹²⁹ I have allowed the statement contained in the text to stand, although in both the cases cited it doubtless expresses only a half truth. From another point of view the form in which the untiring energy and the practical genius of Paul cast the Christian religion is the only one which was suited to the current thought and learning of the Graeco-Roman world. Similarly it cannot be denied that Ovid greatly improved upon the labors of Catullus, Virgil and Tibullus, and, in consequence of his more detailed aesthetic studies and his fuller mastery of the laws of the Roman language, gave to the chief Latin verse-forms the only complete development which was possible in the elegant and courtly imperial age.

II.—THE ICTUS OF CLASSICAL VERSE.

For the past twenty years or so the nature of the ictus of classical verse has been a moot point among scholars.¹ The discussion has recently been less active than formerly, but the disagreement is as complete as ever. Many a student has discovered to his confusion that a change of teachers may involve a new method of reading Latin verse.

The familiar contrast between the quantitative classical and accentual modern verse was pushed to its logical conclusion by Bennett and others, who held that quantity plays no part in modern verse and conversely that there was no room for accent in the ancient measures whose basis was quantity. The reading of Greek and Latin verse with a stressed ictus they regarded as an innovation due to our familiarity with accentual verse.²

But it is now known that modern verse is quantitative as well as accentual. A number of psychological investigations³ have shown that time is an essential element of rhythm, although the measurement of time need not be exact. Rhythm may be defined as a succession of time-intervals felt to be regular, and consequently it is not enough that accents mark the ends of the intervals; if the intervals are not felt to be regular, the composition is prose instead of verse. It follows from the definition also that ancient quantitative verse required something to mark

¹ The most important discussion of it is the controversy between Bennett and Hendrickson (*AJP.* XIX 361-383, XX 198-210, 412-434). Bennett's theory had been anticipated by M. Kawczyński, *Essai sur l'origine et l'histoire des rythmes* (especially pp. 55 ff.), and it was advanced a little later, but apparently without knowledge of Bennett's papers, by G. Schultz, *Hermes* XXXV 314-325. The discussion was briefly summarized and carried further by Goodell, *Chapters on Greek Metric* 155-168. Radford, *TAPA.* XXXV 50-64, published some additional material making against the theory, and Shorey, *TAPA.* XXXVIII 83 f., contributed some acute observations on the same side of the argument. I have borrowed from most of these scholars, but my debt to Professor Hendrickson is especially heavy.

² Bennett's first three arguments (*AJP.* XX 412 f.) amount to about this.

³ They are conveniently reviewed by Patterson, *The Rhythm of Prose*, 17-46.

the ends of the regular rhythmic intervals. The first of the arguments against the accented ictus thus proves to be quite without force.

In the second place, it is argued that stress accents placed at definite points in classical verse constitute "a stupendous artificiality." It has been held that Greek, at any rate, was a language of "level stress," and that consequently a stressed ictus would be out of harmony with the essential character of that idiom.⁴ A perfectly level stress is, however, inconceivable. A Greek must have spoken louder, that is, with more stress, when giving orders on a field of battle or in a storm at sea than in ordinary conversation. Even within the limits of a sentence there must have been variations of stress to denote emphasis. In English the fixed word and sentence accent involves little variation of pitch, but a constant variation of pitch is a chief means of expressing the emotional tone of discourse. In Greek, on the other hand, the fixed word accent involved little variation of stress, but we may safely assume that stress was freely used to mark emotional intensity.

We have, furthermore, in Greek syllabification indications that variations of stress were familiar. For the sake of our subsequent argument it will be convenient to discuss the point now in more detail than would otherwise be necessary.

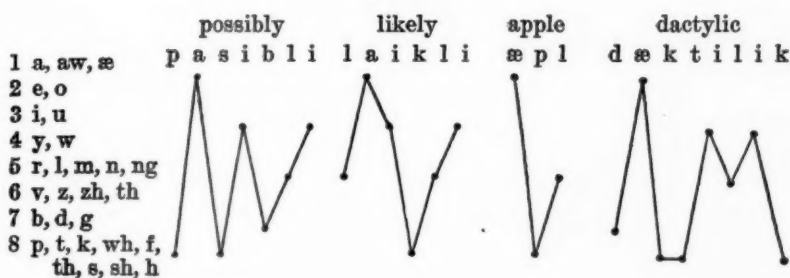
The nature of the syllable has been most lucidly discussed by Jespersen, *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*,² 190-207, who shows that syllabification is chiefly based upon the different amounts of sound (sonorousness) involved in the several speech-sounds. If I speak with level stress, a person on the other side of the street may hear some of my sounds but not all of them. The vowels carry further than the consonants, and the voiced consonants than the voiceless. The English sounds may be divided roughly into the eight classes indicated at the left in Figure 1. If one speaks without accent, the amount of sound produced varies in a series of waves, and the waves for four English words are indicated in the figure. It will be observed that sounds of class 1 can appear only at the crest of a syllabic wave and sounds of class 8 only in the trough. A number of the intermediate

⁴ It was this consideration that led Goodell to think a stressed ictus more probable in Latin than in Greek.

sounds, however, may stand in several different positions. Thus *i* may stand at the crest, as in the second and third syllables of *possibly*, or part way down from the crest, as in the first syllable of *likely*; while *l* is at the crest in *apple*, in the trough in *dactylic*, and between trough and crest in the final syllables of *possibly* and *likely*.

A prolonged *a*, pronounced without variation of energy, gives the effect of a single syllable. But, if the tension of the lungs is varied during the pronunciation of the sound, so that the breath comes alternately with greater energy and with less, the

Figure 1



prolonged *a* is broken into syllables; the points of greater stress are more intense than the others, although the inherent sonorousness of the sound remains constant. This is the only way in which the Greeks can have marked the syllabification of such Homeric words as *άάω*, *έέλδωρ*. Some such words originally had consonants between the similar vowels and others appear to be linguistic monstrosities that never belonged to any colloquial dialect; but the fact remains that the Athenians of classical times must have pronounced *άάω*, *έέλδωρ*, etc. with lessened stress between the similar vowels.⁵ If so, they did not recite Homer with level stress.

Similarly a lessening of intensity during the course of a continuous consonant causes a trough to fall within the consonant, and that is the only way in which such a consonant can be said to be double. If the syllable division of English *illegal* and

⁵ This is true if the spelling is phonetic. It is possible that a consonant, say a glottal stop or a palatal spirant, may have been pronounced between the two similar vowels.

unnatural falls between two *l*'s or two *n*'s, that is because stress is reduced in the midst of a continuous *l* or *n*. Just so the Greeks and Romans must have reduced the force of the stream of breath during the pronunciation of the long *l* of 'Απόλλων or *illegalis* and of the long *n* of ἐννοῶ or *innaturalis*, if, as we are told, they placed the syllable division there.

Some may admit that variations of stress were familiar in Greek and Latin, and yet feel that to stress syllables at the behest of the verse would do violence to the language. For example, in *Il.* I 106 εἶπας occurs with the ictus on its initial syllable, while two lines below the same word has the ictus on the second syllable. We find 'Απόλλωνος with ictus sometimes on the first and third syllables and sometimes on the second and fourth. If the ictus involved stress, it may be argued, such variations as these would be intolerable. And indeed they would be intolerable in English or in nearly any language in which a definite stress is an essential element of the phonetic structure of a word.⁶ But in Greek stress was apparently as free as pitch is in English. Whereas Greek musicians took pains not to pitch the second syllable of a word like εἶπας higher than the first, English *declare* may be sung with either syllable on the higher note. On the other hand an English poet must respect the stress on the second syllable of *declare*, while Greek εἶπας probably required no particular stress tune. At least there is no reason to suppose that an arbitrary change of stress would be unpleasant in a language like Greek, whose word accent was chiefly a matter of pitch. We shall have to discuss below the conflict of accent and ictus in Latin verse.

The third and last argument against the stressed ictus is that the silence of the ancients about any stress at regular points in the verse indicates that there was none. We shall show presently that there is a little ancient testimony for a variation of stress in reading verse, but we waive that point for the present. The argument is fully answered by the observation that the ancients had scarcely anything to say about any of the variations in stress, which, as we have just seen, must have been present in all their speaking. Even the element of stress in the Latin

⁶ With the exception noted below, p. 337.

accent was ignored until it had become the chief component of the accent. In short, the Greeks and Romans of classical times took as little interest in stress as English scholars have, until recently, taken in English quantity. Such gaps in one's knowledge of the phonetics of one's own language are strange, perhaps, but common. Very few students of English seem to be aware of the velar *l* in *milk* and *silk*, and probably a majority of German scholars have no knowledge of the glottal stop, which is the most common initial sound in that language.

The case against the accented ictus is therefore so weak that we need not hesitate to accept any evidence in its favor that can be found. First of all let us try to make our conception of classical verse harmonize with the definition of rhythm and the description of syllabification outlined above.

If rhythm is a succession of time-intervals felt to be regular, we must ask where the termini of the intervals in classical verse are to be found and how they were marked. Those who emphasize the importance of the regular succession of long and short syllables will naturally identify the intervals with the syllables and place the termini in the troughs between the syllabic waves; but in so doing they will be forced to maintain that in reciting or hearing classical verse attention was fixed upon the points of lessened stimulus. It is true that, when once the senses are habituated to a sound or a motion, interruptions may attract attention and, if regular, be felt as rhythmical; but speech scarcely sets up such a reaction unless its content is without interest or the hearer drowsy.

Even if we care to assume that the hearers of Greek and Latin poetry were ordinarily half asleep, we cannot believe that any normal man would place time-beats at the moments of relative silence or inactivity. Beating time is a sympathetic action, and it is incredible that the reduction rather than the alternating increase of sensation would naturally be accompanied by muscular tension. That beating time was customary among the Greeks and Romans is well known; in fact, Bennett devoted considerable space to his proof that the Latin word *ictus* refers to the time-beat rather than to any feature of pronunciation. The same thing is true of Greek *θέσις* and of several other words

in both languages.⁷ Consequently the termini of the rhythmic intervals can scarcely have fallen in the syllabic troughs.⁸

If they fell within the syllables they no doubt coincided with the syllabic crests. Classical rhythm probably depended upon the relative distances between the syllabic crests rather than upon syllabic quantity, if quantity means the length of the syllabic wave from the bottom of one trough to the lowest point of the next. That this was actually the case is pretty clearly shown by the phenomena of the *syllaba anceps*. It is frequently said that a short syllable might be used in place of a long at the end of a line because a pause filled out the time; but there is no tendency to use a short syllable at the end of a line more frequently before a pause than where the sense runs on to the next line. Furthermore the assumption of a pause only increases the difficulty presented by the use of a long final syllable in place of a short, as in Sappho's

μειδιάσαι' ἀθανάτῳ προσώπῳ.

It is possible to understand the complete indifference of the classical poets (and also of the Hindoo poets) to the quantity of the final syllable of the line only on the supposition that the rhythmic series ended with the crest of the last syllable, and that what followed was of no consequence for the verse.

It is not surprising, then, that the ancients sometimes recognize the metrical importance of other than the ictus syllables by prescribing more than one time-beat to the foot. For example, Terentianus Maurus says (VI 365. 1340 ff. K.):

Ergo cum duas videbis esse iunctas syllabas,
effici pedem necesse est, sint breves ambae licet.
Una longa non valebit edere ex sese pedem,

⁷ Some evidence on beating time will be given below, pp. 328 f.

⁸ That syllable divisions could not attract enough attention to serve as termini of rhythmic intervals is further indicated by the difficulty of determining their precise position. We are accustomed to dogmatic statements about the position of syllable divisions in Greek and Latin, but our certainty about the matter causes surprise, to put it mildly, among the scientific observers of modern pronunciation. I hope to discuss this topic more at length on another occasion, and at the same time to make some corrections of our current conception of syllabic quantity.

ictibus quia fit duobus, non gemello tempore.
Brevis utrimque sit licebit, bis ferire convenit;
parte nam attollit sonorem, parte reliqua deprimit.

Terentianus probably means that the down-beat coincides with one syllable (i. e., syllabic crest) and the up-beat with another, but in any case he clearly feels the need of a syllable to accompany the less important beat. It is easy to go a little further than this and to recite a hexameter line with a beat for each syllable. For the first line of the *Iliad* we get the following beats:

1 341 341 3 1 341 341 3

The underlying rhythm is 1234, but the second beat of each series is suppressed, and the fourth also may be omitted. If this were the whole of the hexameter rhythm, we might describe it as a regular succession of long and short time-intervals terminated by syllabic crests, or, somewhat less accurately, as a regular succession of long and short syllables.

We have still to explain the usual ancient practice of beating time by one down-beat to each foot. Clearly one syllable of each foot was more prominent than the others in some such way as to call forth the sympathetic exertion of the time-beat. This prominence is said by Bennett and others to depend solely upon quantity, which, as far as verse is concerned, means approximately a double interval after the syllabic crest.

If we imagine the first line of the *Odyssey* to be spoken without variation of stress, the syllabic waves may be roughly pictured by the continuous line in Figure 2. The primary rhythm, which would be accompanied by a time-beat for each syllable, is marked quite clearly by the syllabic crests. The secondary rhythm, which would be accompanied by six beats to the line, has the termini of its rhythmic intervals marked by syllabic crests which are followed by wide syllabic troughs. The hearer must select the crests to which attention is to be given on the basis of the long intervals which follow them, and, to make the task still more difficult, one crest which is not to receive attention is nevertheless followed by a long interval. The marking of the termini, therefore, is no longer simple or even consistent. They are marked by a composite impression consisting of an

increase of stimulus and a prolonged decrease of stimulus; and this same composite frequently occurs between the termini.

There is no doubt that the basis of hexameter verse was as we have just sketched it; the speech material was merely arranged in such a way that a secondary rhythmic grouping of the syllabic crests was possible, and the rhythmizing tendency of the human mind had to do the rest. The point at issue is how this was done.

Modern man would do it by means of stress. If the reader will repeat several times the numbers on p. 325 representing the syllabic time beats for the first line of the *Iliad*, and if he will carefully leave appropriate intervals for the missing 2's and 4's, he will presently find himself stressing each 1 or each 3, or else he will stress both, but one more than the other.

Such stressing is analogous to our involuntary grouping of the ticks of a clock; although they are all of equal loudness, we hear alternate ticks as louder than the others, and, after a little while, we hear at least three gradations, thus:

tick tick tick tick tick tick tick.

The parallelism results from the nature of the syllable as described above. We noted that a decrease of stress might increase the depth of a syllabic trough, as in the middle of a continuous consonant (*évvene*), or cause a syllabic trough, as in the middle of a vowel sound (*ááo*). Similarly an increase of stress may heighten a syllabic crest, as in the accented syllables in English, German, and Italian. Just as a decrease of stress appears to speaker and hearer similar to the reduction of sonorousness which results from speaking a consonant between vowels, so an increase of stress appears similar to the increase of sonorousness which results from speaking a vowel between consonants. If, then, a rhythmic series is marked by increases of sonorousness (that is, by syllabic waves), the secondary grouping of these will naturally be marked by increases of stress.

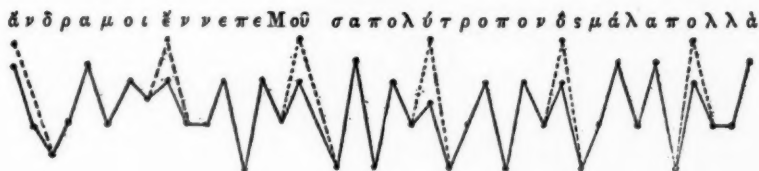
It has been urged by Bennett and others that this tendency in modern man is probably due solely to his familiarity with stress accent in ordinary speech. We now see that its basis is independent of a stress accent. In fact the English stress accent is the one thing which prevents us from reading English verse with a regular stress. We naturally group the ticks of a clock,

or the foot-falls of a passing pedestrian, or the numbers just discussed by means of regular stresses, but we refuse to accent the second syllable of *seeing* in reading the following lines from Tennyson's *Lancelot and Elaine*:

Too courteous truly! ye shall go no more
On quest of mine, seeing that ye forget.

Since in their language an increase or decrease of stress was not a fixed characteristic of any syllable, the Greeks must have yielded to the universal rhythmizing tendency, and thus have stressed the syllabic crests which formed the termini of the secondary rhythmic intervals. The recitation of the first line of the *Odyssey* in this way may be roughly pictured by the dotted lines in Figure 2.

Figure 2



Any secondary rhythmic grouping, such as is implied in the ancient discussions of feet and metra, would naturally induce a stressed ictus; but the need for such an ictus varies inversely with the regularity of the verse. The occurrence of spondees among the dactyls increased the need for rhythmic stress, and many iambic and trochaic verses could scarcely have appeared rhythmical at all without it. Such a line is Aristophanes, *Nub.* 212:

ἦδὲ παρατέταται μακρὰ πόρρω πάνν.

No violence is done to the structure of the iambic trimeter, but the quantitative scheme looks scarcely more regular than that of the first four words of the prose *Hypothesis* of the *Acharnians*. They are as follows:

Nub. 212 --o--o--o--o--o--o

Hyp. Ach. --o--o--o--o--o--o

The line from the *Clouds*, however, is easily capable of rhythmic grouping and the other is not. The impulse toward such grouping comes from the preceding lines, but the best clue for finding

one's way through such a maze of resolutions and substitutions is a stressed ictus. This is admittedly true of modern man, and there is no reason to suppose that Greek psychology differed from ours.

We may add that primitive Greek verse—verse as it was when we may suppose the stressed ictus to have originated—was probably much less regular than any verse that has come down to us from classical antiquity. Some of the Greek lyric measures are closely similar to Vedic meters in several important respects.² Very likely Greek and Hindoo versification had a common origin in Indo-European times, and the comparative indifference to quantity which characterizes Vedic meter probably indicates a stage through which Greek verse once passed. In any case it is difficult to see how regular versification could originate except by a gradual development out of prose through closer and closer adherence to a definite form—"free verse," like other uncouth things, properly belongs to an early stage of artistic development. Classical verse had got well beyond that stage, but some traces of it may be seen in the use of spondees for iambs and trochees, in the indifference to quantity in certain syllables of the Alcaic and Sapphic stanzas and other lyric measures, and possibly in the so-called "metrical licenses" of Homer. Quite probably, then, Greek verse at some early period required a stressed ictus even more imperiously than in classical times.

The association of verse, song, and dance in early Greece is well known. Even those forms of verse, such as the hexameter and the iambic trimeter, which were regularly recited, and which may never have accompanied the dance, were often measured by beating time. The terms *θείς*, *βάς*, *ὁ κάτω χρόνος*, *τὸ κάτω*, and their various Latin equivalents properly refer to beating time. Plutarch, *Dem.* 20, tells how Philip, after the battle of Chaeronea, recited an iambic tetrameter *πρὸς πόδα διαρῶν καὶ ὑποκρούων*. Cicero, *Or.* 59, in describing the gestures and posture proper for an orator, includes these directions, obviously hinting at the different procedure of those who recite verse: *Nulla mollitia cervicium, nullae argutiae digitorum, non ad numerum articulus*

² Meillet, *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*, Chapter IV, pp. 151-159. Cf. White, *The Verse of Greek Comedy*, pp. 286 ff.

cadens. Horace, *Carm.* IV 6. 35 f., says to the boys and girls who are to recite the *Carmen Saeculare*:

Lesbium servate pedem meique
pollicis ictum.

Quintilian, IX 4. 51, in contrasting *metra* and *rhythmi*, says of the latter: *Tempora etiam animo metiuntur et pedum et digitorum ictu intervalla signant.* Many other such passages might be cited.

The terms *thesis* and *arsis* etc. ordinarily referred to the down and up beats accompanying the metrical feet; the familiar terminology concerns the secondary rhythm of feet rather than the primary rhythm of syllables, with which we were occupied above (pp. 325 ff.). Indeed time-beats for all syllabic crests would require considerable agility, if verse were recited at a normal rate of utterance, and to dance to such a rhythm would be impossible.

We have seen that the existence of time-beats indicates that the termini of the rhythmic intervals coincided with syllabic crests, since only an increase of stimulus would be likely to call forth a muscular reaction. The same argument applies to the termini of the secondary rhythmic intervals as contrasted with the intermediate syllabic crests. If these termini were not distinguished from other syllabic crests, classical verse was similar to organ music, which is not satisfactory for dancing and which does not tempt small boys to beat time with their feet. It would, of course, have been possible to beat time to the secondary rhythm of such verse, just as it is possible to beat time to organ music; but how such a practice would originate is not clear. Still less easy to understand is the development of dancing in connection with such verse.

Even if we suppose that dancing and time-beating grew up in some unexplained way by the side of verse that was free from stressed ictus, it seems inevitable that time-beat and dance would call forth an increase of vocal stress at the termini of the rhythmic intervals. Just as regular increases of sensation induce one to contract his muscles—to dance or to beat time—, so the regular contraction of one set of muscles sets up a sympathetic contraction of others.

Thus children who repeat verses in time to regular movements exaggerate the accents. Take for example the jingle:

This is the way we wash our clothes,
 We wash our clothes,
 We wash our clothes;
 This is the way we wash our clothes,
 So early Monday morning.

As they say this the children pretend to rub clothes on a wash-board, with a downward movement on the syllables marked above with an acute accent and an upward movement on those marked with a grave accent. The vigorous motion of the reciters leads to a great exaggeration of alternate stresses. A similar effect is produced upon marching songs as sung by children, and consequently many music teachers in our schools refuse to have the children sing while they march or while they perform drills. The over-accentuation would interfere with the proper execution of the music.

Unless we assign the Greeks and Romans a psychology different from that of other men, dance-step or time-beat must have reacted upon their verse in a similar way. Mature men of good taste would not go to any childish excess, but some stress would certainly be induced by a regular muscular activity in harmony with the recitation.

We must concede to Bennett that most of the ancient rhythmic terms which have been thought by some to give evidence for stressed ictus refer primarily to time-beats, and that they cannot be used as evidence on our question, except indirectly as in the last few paragraphs. The word *ῥυθμός* itself was not discussed by Bennett, since he treated only of Latin. This word properly means "wave,"¹⁰ and it is difficult to see why it should ever have been used of a mere succession of long and short syllables. It is natural enough to use the term *wave* of the syllables themselves, as we have frequently done above; but *ῥυθμός* was applied to the secondary rhythm of feet. This term, then, is strongly suggestive of a stressed ictus.

Bennett was right also in insisting that a number of passages which have been cited in support of a rhythmic stress really

¹⁰ See Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, s. v., and especially O. Schroeder, *Hermes* LIII, 324-329.

refer to the time-beat. Furthermore, there are several passages which show that verse could be recognized as such when occurring in the midst of prose. One of these is Cicero, *de Or.* III 182:

Nam cum sint numeri plures, iambum et trochaicum frequentem segregat ab oratore Aristoteles, Catule, vester, qui natura tamen incurrunt ipsi in orationem sermonemque nostrum; sed sunt insignes percussiones eorum numerorum et minuti pedes. Quare primum ad heroum nos invitat; in quo impune progredi licet duo dumtaxat pedes aut paulo plus, ne plane in versum aut in similitudinem versus incidamus.

This and the similar passages do not say, as some have thought, that prose and verse were recited in the same way, but merely that metrical speech could be detected if spoken as prose.

That the recitation of verse ordinarily differed from the delivery of prose is abundantly evident. We may perhaps dismiss the use of ᾄδω and cano by poets of themselves as conventional—a tradition from a time when verse was usually sung. The same verbs are, however, used in the most prosaic context of the recital of poetry, as follows.

Plutarch, *de Fort. Alex.* 5 p. 328 d: καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Σουσιανῶν καὶ Γεδρωσίων παῖδες τὰς Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους τραγωδίας ᾄδον.

Macrobius, *Sat.* I 24. 5: . . . eos (i. e., Vergilianos versus) pueri magistris praelegentibus canebamus.

Other passages in which the difference between the recitation of verse and of prose is mentioned are the following.

Cicero, *Tusc.* II 26: *M.* Animadvertebas igitur . . . versus ab iis admisceri orationi. *A.* Ac multos quidem a Dionysio Stoico. *M.* Probe dicis. Sed is quasi dictata nullo dilectu, nulla elegantia; Philo et proprio numero et lecta poemata et loco adiungebat.

Quintilian, I 8. 2: Sit autem in primis lectio virilis et cum suavitate quadam gravis, et non quidem prosae similis quia et carmen est et se poetae canere testantur; non tamen in canticum dissoluta nec plasmata (ut nunc a plerisque fit) effeminata; de quo genere optime C. Caesarem praetextatum adhuc accepimus dixisse: Si cantas, male cantas; si legis, cantas.

Pliny *Ep.* I 16. 6: Legit mihi nuper epistolas quas uxoris esse dicebat; Plautum vel Terentium metro solutum legi credidi.

Gellius XVIII 5. 2: Atque ibi tunc Iuliano nuntiatur ἀναγνώστην quendam, non indoctum hominem, voce admodum scita et canora Ennii Annales legere ad populum in theatro.

Aristides Quintilianus *de Mus.* p. 7. 23 M.: μέση δὲ <κίνησις>
ἢ τὰς τῶν ποιημάτων ἀναγνώσεις ποιούμεθα.

Longinus *ad Hephaestionem* I 138 Gaisford: εὔροι γοῦν ἂν τις
παρὰ Δημοσθένει τῷ ῥήτορι στίχον ἡρωικὸν κεκρυμμένον, ὃς ἡδυνήθη
λαθεῖν, διὰ τὸ πεζὴν οὔσαν τὴν προφορὰν συναρπάσαι τῷ λόγῳ τὴν ἀκοήν.

Donatus *ad Ter. Eun.* II 3. 15: Nam *prorsum est porro
versum*, id est *ante versum*, hinc et *prosa oratio*, quam non in-
flexit cantilena.

These passages provide an effective answer to those who hold that the recitation of verse cannot involve any essential variation from the normal prose pronunciation—that verse necessarily differs from prose only in the arrangement of words, while the words themselves must be spoken in the usual manner. It remains to determine in what the difference consisted.

The use of ᾄδω, cano, and other words properly applying to singing and song with reference to poets and verse may suggest a sort of chant or recitative. The assumption of such a method of recitation, however, would not explain Cicero's and Pliny's remarks about reciting verse *proprio numero* or, on the other hand, *quasi dictatum* and *metro solutum*. These phrases must refer to a modification of ordinary speech which emphasized the meter or made it clear. Probably the other passages cited are to be interpreted in harmony with these.

What Longinus meant to say is perfectly clear,¹¹ for he is illustrating the statement in the preceding paragraph that verse requires a regularizing of quantity by lengthening some syllables and shortening others. Just possibly the other authors whom we have quoted had the same point in mind. Undoubtedly Greek and Latin, like the modern languages, had more than two degrees of quantity,¹² and it was probably customary to distinguish between longs and shorts more carefully in reciting verse than in reciting prose. There is abundant evidence, however, that quantity was of great importance in Greek and Latin prose. To say nothing of the dependence of the accent upon quantity, the attention paid to the rhetorical clausulae shows that the orators, at least, were extremely careful in this matter; and yet Cicero, Quintilian, and Longinus contrast the recitation of verse with oratorical delivery and the reading of prose aloud.

¹¹ So White, *The Verse of Greek Comedy*, p. xxiii.

¹² See Goodell, Chapters on Greek Metric, 6-57.

The quantity of syllables in all languages is constantly modified by the rhythm of the phrase, and such modification is strongest in song, stronger in verse than in artistic prose, and stronger in artistic prose than in ordinary conversation. In Greek and Latin, however, quantity was probably less flexible than in English; there was scarcely room for a striking difference of this sort between the neighboring styles of verse and artistic prose, Longinus to the contrary notwithstanding.

It is much more likely that the real difference of the recitation of verse from that of prose consisted in the use of a stressed ictus. Since the ancient phoneticians failed to recognize stress in any of its manifestations, they would be likely to describe this difference as one of quantity.

Positive testimony for such an ictus seems not to be quotable from any author earlier than Aulus Gellius, who records a tradition that Probus inferred the accentuation of a certain word from its use in early drama. The passage is as follows (VII 7. 1-9) :

Annianus poeta praeter ingenii amoenitates litterarum quoque veterum et rationum in litteris oppido quam peritus fuit et sermocinabatur mira quadam et scita suavitate. Is *affatim* ut *admodum* prima acuta, non media, pronuntiabat atque ita verter locutos censebat. Itaque se audiente Probum grammaticum hos versus in Plauti *Cistellaria* legisse dicit:

Pótime tú homo fácinus fácere strénum? Aliorum áffatim est,
quí faciánt; sane égo me nólo fórtem pérhiberí virum,

causamque esse huic accentui dicebat, quod *affatim* non essent duae partes orationis, sed utraque pars in unam vocem coaluisset, sicuti in eo quoque quod *exadversum* dicimus, secundam syllabam debere acui existimabat, quoniam una, non duae essent partes orationis; atque ita oportere apud Terentium legi dicebat in his versibus:

In quo haec discébat lúdo exádersúm loco
tostrína erát quaedam.

Addebat etiam quod *ad* praeverbium tum ferme acueretur cum significaret *ἐπίρασις*, quam *intentionem* nos dicimus, sicut *adfabre* et *admodum* et *adprobe* dicuntur.

Cetera quidem satis commode Annianus. Sed si hanc particulam semper cum intentionem significaret acui putavit, non id perpetuum videtur; nam et *adpotus* cum dicimus et *adprimus* et *adprime*, intentio in his omnibus demonstratur, neque tamen

ad particula satis commode accentu acuto pronuntiatur. *Adprobus* tamen, quod significat *valde probus*, non infitias eo quin prima syllaba acui debeat. Caecilius in comoedia quae inscribitur *Triumphus* vocabulo isto utitur:

Hiérocles hóspes ést mi aduléscens ádprobus

Some may be inclined to think that *Probus* and the others did not argue, as a modern scholar might, from the position of the ictus, but that they referred to a traditional accentuation of the three dramatic passages cited—an accentuation independent of the verse. There are two objections to such an interpretation. (1) The penultima law requires the accentuation *exadvérsu*m, and it is unlikely that the penultima law was ordinarily violated in this word; in fact the way in which Gellius brings up the topic shows that the familiar accent was on the penult. Neither is it likely that an unusual pronunciation of the word could have established itself in a line of Terence except under compulsion of the meter. (2) It would be a remarkable coincidence that in all three passages the ictus should harmonize with the accent prescribed. We are fairly driven to conclude that *Probus*, *Annianus*, and Gellius inferred accent from ictus, and consequently that accent and ictus had some common element. The only element that can have been common to them is stress.

Other explicit testimony for an accented ictus is less important on account of its late date. *Aristides Quintilianus*, p. 31 M., explains ἄρσιν καὶ θέσιν by the appositives ψόφον καὶ ἡρεμίαν; and the same doctrine seems to reappear in fuller form in *Cassiodorus* 2. 40:

Naturalis autem rhythmus animatae voci cognoscitur attributus; qui tunc melos pulchre custodit, si apte taceat, congruenter loquatur et per accentus viam musicis pedibus composita voce gradiatur.

Aristides probably lived in the third century A. D., and his work was largely based upon good ancient sources; but it is possible to explain away the apparent significance of his words by assuming that he refers to the sound (ψόφον) of the down-beat and the lack of sound (ἡρεμίαν) of the up-beat.¹³ *Cassiodorus* clearly refers to a difference between the two parts of the

¹³ This is almost certainly what *Marius Victorinus* means in VI, 40. 14 f. K.; Est enim arsis sublatio pedis sine sono, thesis positio cum sono.

foot in the amount of vocal sound; but he belongs to the sixth century, and he may be partly dependent upon the Roman writers about to be mentioned.

The Roman grammarians translate *ἄρσις* by such words as *sublatio*, *elatio*, *elevatio* and *θέσις* by *positio*, *depositio*, etc., and, beginning with the fourth century, they often add defining genitives, as when Martianus Capella says, IX 974: *Arsis est elevatio, thesis depositio vocis ac remissio*.¹⁴

In the same century the use of *accentus* for the stressed ictus appears. The earliest extant passage of the sort seems to be Servius, IV 425. 7 ff. K.:

Arsis dicitur elevatio, thesis depositio. Quotienscumque contingit ut tres sint syllabae in pede vel quinque, quoniam non licet in divisione temporum syllabam scindi, sed aut principio adplicatur aut fini, idcirco debemus considerare, media syllaba cui parti coniungi debeat. Et hoc ex accentu colligimus. Nam si in prima syllaba fuerit accentus [ː] arsis duas syllabas possidebit [ː]; si autem in media syllaba [ː], thesi duas syllabas damus [ː].

It is scarcely a coincidence that Servius is also the earliest author who clearly defines the Latin accent as a stress accent. Shortly before his time the stress element, which had always been present in the Latin accent, had come to predominate over the pitch element to such an extent that it was natural to say, as Servius did (IV 426. 16 K.), *Accentus in ea syllaba est quae plus sonat*. Having formulated this definition of *accentus* he naturally applied the word to the stressed ictus.

There is, then, little direct testimony in favor of a stressed ictus, and, as far as I know, none at all earlier than the first century A.D. Taken by itself it could scarcely be regarded as deciding the question; but it furnishes an important corroboration of the arguments which we have reviewed above.

So far we have been considering Greek and Latin together, and our attention has been directed largely toward the origin and early history of classical versification, which was, of course, Greek. We have now to consider an argument which applies directly only to Latin poetry. I have shown (CP. XIV 234-244, 373-385, *AJP*. XLII 289-308) that the Roman poets tried to

¹⁴ The confusion of the terms *arsis* and *thesis* among the Romans has often been discussed, and it may be passed over here.

secure definite correspondence between accent and ictus. The argument, as far as it applies to the early dramatists, is summarized in my *Pronunciation of Greek and Latin* 211 f., and the more elaborate proof as to the practice of the dactylic poets is outlined in *TAPA*. LII 13-15. I forbear to repeat.

The conclusion is that when the Romans adopted the Greek measures they were confronted with the necessity of accommodating to the Latin accent the stressed ictus which was employed in their models. Latin verses composed, as Greek verses were, without attention to the accent of the language would have compelled the Romans to mispronounce their native tongue. Hence the dramatic poets took pains to make accent and ictus fall upon the same syllables as far as possible. The Greek iambic and trochaic measures admitted a great many resolutions and substitutions, and the Roman poets gained much additional freedom by admitting irrational feet everywhere except at the end of the line. With this relaxation of the rigor of Greek technique it was possible to gain harmony of accent and ictus most of the time. The exceptions are largely due to the ictus on the final syllable of all lines with the iambic close. One may suspect that this ictus (the weaker one in its dipody) was neglected by the Romans, in order to avoid frequent stressing of the ultima—a practice almost as foreign to the Latin language as oxytonesis of a word like *seeing* is to English.¹⁵

The Greek hexameter was more difficult to compose than iambic and trochaic verses, in proportion as it permitted less resolution and substitution. Consequently Ennius found it impossible to secure in his epic poem such harmony of accent and ictus as he attained in his plays. He found, however, that harmony could easily be secured at the close of the hexameter line, and he took pains to do this. The intractable words and phrases which could be got into the verse only with conflict of accent and ictus (e. g., *ferúnt*, *sonitús*, *mílitiaé*, *marí magnó*) were thus, for the most part, crowded into the first three or four feet. Finally Ennius seems to have made a virtue of necessity. He apparently used the unavoidable clash of accent and ictus in the

¹⁵ For this reason I omitted accent marks on the iambic close in my edition of *The Andria of Terence*, although I marked the ictus in all other positions.

early part of the verse to give his language that air of aloofness from everyday life which he regarded as essential to epic poetry. His successors carried the practice further, until, in classical times, the striving after clash in the first four feet was comparable with the effort to produce harmony in the last two feet.¹⁶

But can we believe that the Roman dactylic poets ever intentionally did such violence to their language? As noted above, we refuse to accent the second syllable of *seeing* although the flow of the verse seems to demand it. Were the Romans less sensitive to mistakes in pronunciation? The reply is that an established literary tradition can justify any departure from the usual form of speech: e. g., *wind* (= *ventus*) rhyming with *kind*. Such a tradition, for educated Romans, was provided by Greek hexameters. Since these were recited with six regularly recurring stresses, Latin hexameters must take the same form. Such a verse must always have been somewhat artificial; it is no wonder that the Latin hexameter failed to propagate itself in the poetry of the Romance languages.¹⁷

At any rate the evidence seems clear that the Roman poets tried to accommodate accent and ictus in composing their verses, and they would naturally do this only if accent and ictus contained a common element.

We have, then, seven arguments for a stressed ictus—not all of equal importance, but all, I think, of some validity.

(1) Since syllables consist of increments of sound, and since the increments can be added to only by stress, any combining

¹⁶ The evidence for these statements will be found in the articles referred to above.

¹⁷ It is likely, as maintained by Hale, *PAPA*. XXVI, pp. xxvi-xxx, that in reciting verse the Romans retained some stress on the syllables ordinarily accented; but such a practice cannot have made the stressed ictus really harmonize with the Latin accent. [We may note in passing that part of the argument upon which this suggestion was based appears to be unsound. Great importance is attached to a line from Matthew Arnold in which the phrase *austere Fâtes* occurs with the verse accent as here indicated. The fact is that in prose as well as in verse such a word as *austere* is accented on the first syllable if it is followed in the same phrase by a word with accent on the first syllable. The great contrast between English and Latin verse is to be found in the impossibility of accenting a syllable as weak as the final one of *seeing*, whereas any Latin syllable might stand under the ictus.]

of a syllabic rhythm into a secondary rhythm of feet implies stress.

(2) The development of dance and time-beat alongside of verse is understandable only as due to sympathetic muscular contractions coincident with rhythmic increases of sensation. The only possible increase of sensation in verse—aside from the syllabic waves themselves—is due to stress.

(3) Even if we are disposed to look upon the connection of dance and time-beat with verse as something too far beyond the threshold of history to be explained, we must admit that there was such a connection in historical times, and verse recited to the accompaniment of dance or time-beat would inevitably take on a sympathetic stress.

(4) While the terminology of ancient rhythmic and metric has little bearing upon our question, the word *ῥυθμός* itself properly means "wave," and implies alternating increase and decrease in the amount of sound, that is, of stress.

(5) There is abundant ancient testimony that the recitation of verse ordinarily differed from the delivery of prose, and we can find no satisfactory interpretation of certain of the passages concerned except on the assumption of a stressed ictus.

(6) There is a little direct ancient testimony for a stressed ictus, beginning with Probus as quoted by Aulus Gellius.

(7) The efforts of the Roman poets to secure a definite relation of accent and ictus prove that Latin accent and the ictus of classical verse had a common element. This can have been nothing else than stress.

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III.—THE PROEMS OF THE ILIAD AND THE ODYSSEY.

"It occurs to us," writes Fielding in *Tom Jones*, "that the principal merit of both the prologue and the preface is that they be short." Homer nowhere better justifies Horace's *semper ad eventum festinat* than in his proems and the few verses of additional exposition which follow them. Fielding would not have denied in a serious moment, we think, that combined with brevity should be sufficiency. The object of the present paper is to test the sufficiency of the introductory portions of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and at the same time to point out resemblances between the two which should be taken into consideration in estimating the view of the Chorizontes. Emphasis will also be laid on the merits, rather than on the defects, of the Homeric introductions; for, while the critic ought to point out the shortcomings of his author, too, it seems reasonable when a poetical work has, like the Homeric poems, for a century been examined chiefly for blemishes, to give greater weight to the other side of the account.

It is now generally recognized that both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are *continuous* narratives, without break or lacuna which must be filled by the imagination of the listener or reader. The introductions therefore include, in addition to the proems, only those verses which come before the action of the poems begins and the narratives start to move, i. e., ὁ γὰρ ἦλθε (A12) and ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Αἰθίοπας μετεκίαθε (a22). Even a cursory reading of these introductory verses reveals two striking features, the speed¹ with which the poet brings us to the beginning of his

¹ In other great epic poems the beginning of the action is delayed for various reasons, to explain the purpose of the poem or its superiority to others, or to dedicate it to some patron, but chiefly because the poet is striving for 'epic breadth' by means of an over-elaboration which Homer, the story-teller *par excellence*, would have found utterly foreign to his genius. The narrative begins in the *Aeneid* at verse 34; *Paradise Lost*, at vs. 50; Tasso's *Jerusalem*, at vs. 40; the *Lusiads* of Camoens, at vs. 145; Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, at vs. 33, and Spenser's *Faery Queene*, after four stanzas of nine lines each, in addition to the letter of exposition addressed to Raleigh. With this we may com-

tale—in the *Odyssey* the introductory exposition must be somewhat longer for reasons which will be given later—and the striking likeness of the two proems (A 1-8, α 1-10). (1) In order of words and in syntax. First comes the theme (μῆνιν = ἀνδρά), then the invocation (ᾄειδε, θεά = μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα), then a four-syllable adjective to characterize the theme (οὐλομένην = πολύτροπον); this is expanded by a relative clause (ἣ μυρὶ Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκεν = ὅς μάλα πολλὰ πλάγχθη),² which in turn is further elaborated by two δέ-clauses (πολλὰς δ', αὐτοὺς δέ = πολλῶν δ', πολλὰ δ').

(2) Both proems refer to the vast possibilities of the theme (μυρὶ = μάλα πολλὰ; πολλὰς δ' = πολλῶν δ', πολλὰ δ').

(3) Both indicate the sorrows to be described (ἄλγε' ἔθηκεν = πάθεν ἄλγεα).

(4) At the end of the proem in both poems the thought returns to the beginning. This is better done in the *Odyssey*, where θεά, εἰπὲ καὶ ἡμῖν, repeats with a pretty chiasmus μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, of vs. 1. This 'paragraphing' is less clear in the *Iliad*; still ἐρίσαντε . . . Ἀχιλλεύς (vss. 6f.) repeats the thought of μῆνιν . . . Ἀχιλῆος, and the question, τίς τ' ἄρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι; recalls us to ᾄειδε, θεά.³

(5) In both proems we notice an important omission, which illustrates Horace's *res non secus ac notas*: the poet takes it for

pare Dante's letter to Can Grande—but the *Divine Comedy*, regarded as an epic, is quite apart from all others.

² The first verse of the *Thebais*,

Ἄργος ᾄειδε, θεά, πολυδίψιον, ἔνθεν ἄνακτες,

which is all that we have of the proem of this poem, is a merely formal imitation of Homer. Argos is not the theme of the poem, and the adjective is a mere filler. The two adjectives of the Homeric proems, on the other hand, characterize the hero of their respective poems at the very start of the tale in the particular aspect in which he is to be seen throughout the poem. Odysseus is never at a loss in an acute situation, although in chronic delays like those on the isles of Circe and of Calypso he needs assistance; and the influence of the wrathful Achilles is ever baneful, to himself, to his friend Patroclus, and to his comrades in arms, as well as to the Trojans and Hector.

³ Some editors think this a mere rhetorical question. But Vergil did not: *Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso*, etc.; nor did Milton, *P. L.*, 27 ff., "Say first what cause . . . who first seduced them to that foul revolt."

granted that his hearers will locate the wrath of Achilles in the Trojan War, and that in the ἀνὴρ πολύτροπος they will recognize Odysseus. Perhaps it is nearer the truth to say that Homer develops his theme slowly, giving only so much information as is necessary to awaken and hold the attention of his audience.

(6) In the mention of the time at which the narrative begins, the resemblance of the two proems is only formal (ἄειδε . . . ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε, 'Begin with the angry quarrel of the two kings, which led to the Wrath,' = τῶν ἀμόθεν γε . . . εἰπέ, 'Begin anywhere in the Wanderings.').⁴ In the *Iliad* the natural and obvious starting-point is the quarrel. The *Odyssey*, on the other hand, is to narrate 'long wanderings after the sack of Ilios.' The constructive masterstroke of the poem is the concentration of the action into a period of approximately forty days. This concentration is obtained by bidding the Muse begin 'at any point': on ἀμόθεν depends the whole artful device of the poet. By using this adverb he gives himself *carte blanche*, as it were, to begin where he desires. But this makes necessary in the *Odyssey* a slightly longer introduction than the *Iliad* requires.

Bekker and others have found a blemish in the reference to the loss of the Comrades in the proem. Yet nothing could be more appropriate. The Wanderings of a hero is a theme far vaguer than the Wrath of a hero. In the former case the poet must focus our attention definitely at the start if he would hold us. So first he eliminates the Comrades. Incidentally he thus marks the limits of the wanderings which occurred before the opening of the story and which form the contents of the Apologue, the third clearly marked chapter of the tale (compare ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πολίεθρον ἔπερσεν, α 2, and the brief description of the destruction of the Comrades in vss. 6-9, with

⁴ In taking ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα, κτλ., with αἶειδε, rather than with the words immediately preceding, Διὸς δ' ἐτελέετο βουλή, we follow Aristarchus and the older authorities. This makes Διὸς δ' ἐτελέετο βουλή parenthetical. We shall try to establish this interpretation by other arguments in a paper to be published in *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LIII. It is enough to say here that the rejected method of construing has no support in the *Iliad*: the poet does not say that either Fate or its guardian, Zeus, has anything to do with the results of the Wrath until Thetis has made her request.

ι 39, Ἰλιόθεν με φέρον, κτλ. and μ 127 ff.). At the same time he gives an interesting example of the adventures of the hero.

But the poet of the *Odyssey* cannot stop with this delimitation of his theme. In the *Iliad*, the exposition which is given by the few verses which immediately follow the proem is very brief, for all that is needed is a synopsis of what brought about the quarrel: Apollo, angered at the insult to his priest, destroys the host with a plague. Then the narrative is in full swing. But in the *Odyssey*, the diversity of place—which in the *Iliad* is nearly constant, since only the home of the gods on Olympus withdraws our attention from the Trojan Plain—and the length of time, both hinted at in the proem, are so great that a somewhat longer prologue is required. The point at which the Muse, by the poetic fiction, takes up the story in the *Odyssey* is after all the other heroes have reached home. This, like the elimination of the Comrades, helps to focus attention on Odysseus; in both cases the hero gains perspective by the contrast. As Lehrs remarked, the Comrades perished by their folly, while the ἀνὴρ πολύτροπος was saved. So in this second adjustment of the focus upon the hero, all the other living chieftains are at home and rid of their adventures in war and on the sea, but Odysseus is detained in the cave of the nymph. Odysseus alone now holds our attention. The poet proceeds to make his situation clearer to us both in time and in place. The years have rolled around. Exactly how many we are not told until β 174.⁵ Fate has willed his return in this tenth year (in β 174 ff. we learn that his long absence was fated). The gods pity him—all except Poseidon. But they do nothing for Odysseus. The efforts which the Olympians put forth in the war apparently satisfied their appetite for activity. Besides, with the exception of Athena and Poseidon, they have nothing at stake. This is fortunate for the poet: in the *Iliad* he has exhausted the possibilities of a quarrel among the heaven-dwellers. But this is aside from our argument. The point is

⁵ In the *Iliad*, too, we do not know that the action takes place in the tenth year until B 134. It is worth while to note the closeness of the parallel, whether we attach much importance to it or not: in both poems the time of the action is the tenth year; we are told of this in approximately the same part of either poem, and the tenth year is mentioned for the first time by a speaker in a public assembly.

that vss. 11-19a, not paralleled in the *Iliad*,⁶ are made necessary by ἀμόθεν (vs. 10), which needs a clearer demarcation: the story begins at the point where all the Comrades have perished, all the surviving heroes have returned home, and fate has willed that Odysseus shall likewise return.

But he is not yet rid of his struggles and with his family. This interpretation of καὶ μετὰ οἷσι φίλοις (vs. 19a), which is indicated by the comments of the Schol. and Eustathius (1384, 8), marks by a chiasitic balance of words^{6a} the contrast between Odysseus and the other heroes. The modern rendering, "not even there was he rid of his struggles even among his dear ones," has in its favor, it is true, the sequence of ideas εἰς Ἰθάκην, οὐδ' ἐνθα. But anyone who has paid attention to the single words and short phrases that run over after a verse which suffers enjambement will have noticed that these, though they may add a thought that makes for clearness, are oftentimes little more than fillers. They seem to have been used to make a change in the rhythm by giving a pause in the sense within the first two feet, especially at the trihemimeral caesura, and are not by any means always followed by epexegetis. Against the modern interpretation there are at least two serious objections. The coming of the year in which fate had decreed the return of Odysseus is far from being equivalent to the time of his actual return. Hence we are confronted with two sudden transitions—from Calypso to Ithaca and back again—which are disturbing in their un-Homeric abruptness. Surely we could have expected the poet to have lessened the harshness of these transitions by the use of μέλλεν, instead of (πεφυγμένος) ἦεν. This, however, may be a matter of personal feeling. But certainly

⁶ In the *Iliad* the introductory portion consists of two parts, proem and the brief exposition, vss. 9-12a; in the *Odyssey*, of three: proem, and exposition in two divisions, a. vss. 11-19a, which defines the time and place at which the story begins, and, b. vss. 19b-21, which leads us directly to the beginning of the narrative. Exposition a. is made necessary by ἀμόθεν; exposition b. is paralleled by A 9-12a.

^{6a} Vs. 12) (vss. 18b-19a,

^a ^b ^c ^{b'} ^c ^{b'} ^b ^c
οἰκοὶ ἔσαν πδλεμὸν τε πεφευγότες ἡδὲ θάλασσαν) (οὐδ' ἐνθα πεφυγμένος ἦεν ἀέθλων
καὶ μετὰ οἷσι φίλοις, i. e., a, b, c, b, c) (b', b, c, a).

there can be no objection to the use of *καί* rather than *οὐδέ* (which troubled Ameis) in vs. 19a. Riddell refers to γ 349 and ζ 182. We might add A 95, *οὐδ' ἀπέλυσε θύγατρα καὶ οὐκ ἀπεδέξατ' ἄποινα*.

The modern interpretation of vss. 18-19a, even if sufficiently supported, does not interfere with our analysis, in so far as this has shown the reason for the insertion in the *Odyssey* of a second division in the introduction which comes between the proem and the beginning of the narration, viz., the need to mark more clearly the time and place which *ἀμόθεν* leaves vague.

With vs. 19b, the parallel between *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is clear again: in the former about three verses are needed to tell us that Apollo was the cause of the quarrel which led to the Wrath, and then the narration begins; in the latter, we learn in two and a half verses that the gods pitied Odysseus, and Poseidon was wroth with him. Then with the going of the latter to the feast of the Aethiopians the action starts.

We have said that in the *Iliad* the poet begins obviously and naturally with the origin and occasion of the Wrath. Likewise in the *Odyssey*, he might well have begun with the divine cause, other than fate, for the long detention of the hero. Vergil thus artlessly explains the cause of the wanderings and hardships of his hero before he begins to tell the story. But Homer, with greater skill, prefers to 'dramatize' it by putting it into the lips of Zeus. This makes it necessary to introduce the Olympians at the beginning of his narration, instead of somewhat later, as in the *Iliad*. And the gathering of the gods in α not only explains the anger of Poseidon, but serves several other purposes as well. When the story opens, the situation, both among the gods and on earth, is static, almost stagnant, as it is, for example, in the first sequel to the *Three Musketeers*. There is quiet, even to *ennui*, everywhere: Odysseus, bored almost to death (cf. α 59) on Ogygia; the heroes all at home and free from care, and the Olympians with nothing to rouse them to action. This atmosphere of boredom could not better have been impressed upon us than by the opening words of Zeus: "Strange how mortals blame the gods!" The ἦθος of Zeus's speech is excellent. Like many persons of enormous power when fully roused to action, he is at other times the

most *blasé* of individuals. When one lacks all motives for exertion, one is sometimes impelled to a mild, often plaintive, censure of others. So the Father of Men is made by the poet to recall the most recent instance of a mortal trying to shift from his own shoulders to fate the reason for his ruin. The folly of Aegisthus is chosen by the poet with a purpose—with two, in fact; to introduce a foil to the family of Odysseus (the Agamemnon story recurs in γ , δ , λ , ν and ω), and, what is of far greater importance, to bring into the tale one of its three leading threads. As I have shown at greater length in another paper (cf. note 4 above) the episodes of the *Iliad* are held together in a surprising unity by one major *motif*, the Wrath of Achilles, and two minor ones, the first divine, the Plan of Zeus, and the second human, the Instrument, Hector, through whom the Plan is carried out. In the *Odyssey*, which must always be regarded as the sequel to the *Iliad*,⁷ one can hardly be accused of forcing the material into the Procrustean bed of one's own theory if one finds likewise two subordinate filaments of the plot which are essential in binding together into one continuous and unified tale the many woful adventures of the hero. These two secondary themes are, as in the *Iliad*, one divine, the Plan of Athena, and the other the human Instrument of the Plan, Telemachus. The Plan in the *Odyssey* is more artificial and less cumulative and tragic in its development. In the first place, it is a twofold plan—a fact which causes a somewhat inartistic break in the story at the beginning of ϵ , and an apparent lack of inventive power in the second use of a gathering of the Olympians. But perhaps this is unavoidable. As we have said, the poet has worked out the theme of dissension among the gods until it has no further interest for him or his audience. He therefore does not wish to bring the wills of Athena and Poseidon into opposition. Hence Hermes is chosen to start Odysseus on his homeward journey from Calypso's isle, and Athena keeps in the background until he is safely landed in Ithaca and the curse of Polyphemus has been fulfilled. For a similar reason, and also to deepen the impression of the guile and prowess of Odysseus, Athena does not

⁷ Cf. *American Journal of Philology*, XLIV, 49, and *Sewanee Review*, XXVIII (1920), 170.

appear in the adventures of the Apologue.⁸ This accounts for the two distinct parts of the Plan; it does not explain why the *crescendo* both in action and in emotion, which is seen in the *Iliad* as the Plan of Zeus develops, is lacking in the *Odyssey*. This seems to be due to the less happy choice of the Instrument in the latter poem.

That Telemachus is the Odyssean parallel to Hector as the human instrument by which the divine plan is carried out needs little argument. Remove these two secondary heroes from their respective poems, and only epic episodes, not an epic poem, remain. Telemachus⁹ appears in sixteen books of the *Odyssey*, in all except ε-μ, from which he is of course barred by the circumstances, and he speaks more often than any other of the characters in either poem, except their respective heroes. He is the agent through whom we get a picture of the situation at Ithaca and also learn of the Returns of the heroes of the war—which is a desideratum in the sequel to the *Iliad*. Telemachus also furnishes the incentive for the plot of the Suitors, which both emphasizes their *hybris* and increases the interest as we approach the climax of the story. In fact, the Suitors, without Telemachus, lose half of their importance, just as there would be no tragic outcome of the Wrath if there were no Hector. And, finally, a lonely, tearful, vacillating and altogether human Penelope would be impossible if there were no Telemachus or his equivalent; she would have to be more decisive and energetic—more the queen, and less the woman. That the young prince does not grip our hearts, as Hector does, may be due to the poet's precaution against making him a rival, in our attention, to his father, but more probably, is caused by the poet's flagging power of creation, or else by his lack of interest in the second generation of heroes.¹⁰

The introduction of the divine Plan and the human Instrument in the *Odyssey* is at the same time more ingenious and less satisfactory than in the *Iliad*. It seems clear that the poet

⁸ Cf. *Class. Jour.* XIII (1917), 528 f.

⁹ For Hector's importance in the *Iliad* see Professor Scott's admirable discussion, *The Unity of Homer* (1921), 204-239; *American Journal of Philology*, XXXV, 309 ff.

¹⁰ Cf. *Sevance Review*, l. c.

meant by the mention of Orestes in the opening speech of Zeus (α 40 ff.) to suggest the second part of the Plan (cf. α 298, γ 306-313)¹¹: as Orestes avenged his father, so shall Telemachus aid in the vengeance on the Suitors. But the intervention of Athena is insufficiently justified: there is nothing in it to be compared with the splendidly conceived origin of the *Βουλὴ Διός*. However, the audience, familiar with the legend of the Trojan War and with the *Iliad*, would accept it as natural that the patron divinity of the hero should take the lead in his rescue.

Wilamowitz finds in the absence of all reference to the Suitors [and consequently to Telemachus] a sure indication of the independence of the 'Telemachy.'¹² One might answer that the proem of the *Iliad* does not mention Hector, who is essential to the climax of the *Ur-Ilias*. But the best rebuttal is that a proem is not a table of contents;¹³ it is rather like the introduction of a speaker who is well known to the audience. It gives the theme of the tale which the Muse is to tell, with just enough detail to catch the attention. What comes between the proem and the Muse's continuous narrative is the minimum of exposition that is needed to mark the point at which she will begin. The proems and these verses of exposition in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* resemble each other in length and style. But the vaguer theme of the *Odyssey*, and the device of the Apologue, make necessary a clearer demarcation, not only of the

¹¹ *Class. Weekly*, V (1912), 219 ff.

¹² Of the many objections to the proem and introductory portions of the *Odyssey* we make the less mention because they are based either on the repeated verse or the ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, both of which are characteristic of Homer's style, or on the objector's particular theory of the *Entstehung* of the poem. We note only the latest objection, "Das störende Nebeneinander vom Zorn des Poseidon und dem des Helios," Meuli, *Odyssee und Argonautica*, 1921, reviewed by A. Hausrath in *Phil. Woch.*, XLII (1922), 562. The 'disturbing element,' as we have already pointed out, is non-existent, since the anger of the Sun-god has to do with the loss of the Comrades, while that of Poseidon has introduced a static condition in the circumstances of Odysseus himself.

¹³ Athena's formulation of her plan (α 88-95) verges upon this, and in so far is an artistic blemish. Something of the kind, however, is needed to lead the listener's attention to the going of Athena to Ithaca. See *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXI (1920), 50.

theme itself, but also of time and place. This is gained through the use of ἀπόθεν in the proem, and this, in turn, requires an added section of exposition. Finally, in the Muse's own introductory chapter of either tale (A and a) a gathering of Olympians is employed to show the formation of the divine plan which determines the development of the plot. In the *Odyssey* this is placed at the beginning rather than at the end, because it adds an essential part of the necessary preliminary exposition.

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IV.—AGAINST CURTAILING CATULLUS' "PASSER."

Catullus, Carmen II, appears in all the extant manuscripts as one unbroken whole.¹ The editors, however, from the time of Lachmann to the present day, separate the last three from the preceding verses,² either assuming a lacuna before verse 11,³ or severing verses 11-13 from all connection with Carmen II.⁴

¹ The Baehrens-Schulze edition of Catullus (Leipzig, 1893) has a very misleading critical note: "Versus 11-13 sine interstitio cum 10 coniungit V, sed in O signum ¶ i. marg. u. 11 appositum." Professor Hale informs me that the mark referred to is a light paragraph mark, which is found also against the following lines: 1, 8; 2, 7; 3, 1; 3, 13; 64, 1; 64, 4; 64, 8; 64, 12. As Professor Hale says, if any one wishes to found an argument for the separation of 2, 11-13 upon the paragraph mark in O, then he must also account for the presence of the paragraph mark in those other places. In addition, paragraph marks of the same sort are found before the gloss, in the right margin, upon 2, 1; and upon the gloss, in the right margin, upon 64, 1. These marks stop where the glosses of the second hand stop, begin again where the glosses begin again, and stop with these. "They are," says Professor Hale, "clearly the work of the writer of the glosses. The glosses themselves are due to the invention of the writer, so that it is morally certain that the paragraph marks are likewise due to his invention." Professor Hale has looked through G and R and about sixty of the secondary MSS. and has nowhere found any indication that 2, 11-13 was to be separated from the rest of 2. This information, which Professor Hale has generously given me, is based on memoranda made in studying the MSS. themselves and has been verified by an examination of the photographs of O, G, and R, which he caused to be made for his use.

² Theodor Birt, to be sure (*Commentariolus Catullianus Tertius*, Marburg, 1895, pp. vi ff.), and also Giacomo Giri (*De locis qui aut sunt aut habentur corrupti in Catulli carminibus*, Augustae Taurinorum, 1894, pp. 55 ff.) interpret the poem as one unbroken whole, changing *possem* (vs. 9) to *possum*. Birt tries to justify this change on the ground that there is no parallel for a contrary-to-fact wish without a particle. (But cf. Ovid, *Met.* 8, 72 *Di facerent sine patre forem* [cited by Roby, *Latin Grammar*, 1588]). On Birt's interpretation vs. 9-13 are spoken by Lesbia. Both Birt's and Giri's interpretations seem to me extremely forced.

³ So, e. g., Lachmann (ed. 3, Berlin, 1874); Ellis (Oxford, 1878); Riese (Leipzig, 1884); Baehrens-Schulze (Leipzig, 1893); Merrill (Boston, 1893); Stampini (Turin, 1921). Some editors—Riese, for example—manifest reluctance in their assumption of a lacuna.

⁴ For various ways of disposing of these verses cf. Weise, *Progr.* von

Two reasons are given for assuming a lacuna. The less important one is that Alexander Guarinus and Perreius stated that in an ancient manuscript there was a gap before vs. 11.⁵ However, it seems questionable whether much weight should be attached to such statements of sixteenth-century scholars when they are opposed to the unanimous testimony of extant manuscripts.⁶

The more important reason for assuming a lacuna is that the interpretation of the poem as one unbroken whole presents a serious difficulty. Thus Merrill⁷ remarks *ad loc.*: "The change of mood from *possem* (v. 9) to *est* (v. 11) makes it probable that a lacuna exists here, though perhaps of only a single verse, containing in the form of an infinitive phrase some repetition of the thought in *tecum ludere sicut ipsa*."

Now it seems to me that the awkwardness of the change of mood is not obviated by the assumption of such a lacuna. We still have *tam gratum est* following awkwardly upon the contrary-to-fact wish, *tecum ludere . . . possem*.

The editors who completely sever the last three from the preceding verses are likewise defying the authority of the manuscripts. They leave us in Carmen II, vss. 1-10, a poem which has, to be sure, lost the awkwardness mentioned, but has, at the same time, lost much of its beauty.

Theodor Birt⁸ has well said: "Neque moneo nisi hoc, Passerem Catulli in Carmine II si versuum 11-13 amputatione affligatur, omni iam splendore carere, quasi si caudam suam bellam amiserit. Nam in hac maxime et carminis et aviculae ingenua elegantia conspicitur. . . . Et hoc illud fuisse poema

Naumburg, 1863, p. 17; Baehrens, ed. Leipzig, 1876; Rostand-Benoist, ed. Paris, 1890; Friedrich, ed. Leipzig, 1908; H. A. J. Munro, *Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus*, London, 1878, 2d ed. 1905; Bernhard Schmidt, ed. maior, Leipzig, 1887; Giri, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 2).

⁵ According to Lachmann (ed. 3, Berlin, 1874), Guarinus stated concerning vs. 10: "Post hoc carmen in codice antiquissimo et manuscripto ingens sequitur fragmentum"; Perreius: "In v. c. spatium est hic longum post quod sequitur, 'Tam gratum mihi.'"

⁶ It seems quite probable that Perreius' statement is founded entirely upon that of Guarinus. See Giri, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 2), p. 55, n. 1.

⁷ Ed. Boston, 1893.

⁸ *Op. cit.* (supra, n. 2).

credunt ex quo ordiri placuerit Musae Veronensi quodque apud Martialem toti poesi Catullianae nomen dederit?"

I should like to suggest an interpretation which enables us to keep the poem—as the manuscripts give it—as a complete whole, and which is free from the objection that *tam gratum est* follows awkwardly upon the wish contrary-to-fact, *tecum ludere . . . possem*. My interpretation is itself, however, liable to a new objection, namely, that it introduces into the poem a feature for which there is no precedent in Catullus. This objection will be considered when the interpretation has first been stated.

We have in Carmen II, as it seems to me, a little dramatic scene, with the stage directions left out. The poet, being admitted to Lesbia's presence, finds her playing with her pet sparrow. He speaks to the sparrow—vss. 1-10—but, while addressing the sparrow, he is really making an appeal, at once playful and passionate, to Lesbia. Now I assume that when the poet has spoken vs. 10 Lesbia shows by some action that the poet's wooing is acceptable to her. She turns her attention from her pet sparrow to her youthful suitor, in response to the appeal of *possem . . . tristis animi levare curas*.

It is after this, I take it, that the poet speaks the last three verses. The subject of *est*, in vs. 11, is not *tecum ludere* or some equivalent expression—as Ellis and Merrill, e. g., would have it—but Lesbia's encouragement of the poet's suit. The lover is saying "Thank you."⁹ The vagueness, in the lack of an expressed subject, is in keeping with the emotional situation.

In favor of this interpretation, or at least quite in harmony with it, is the exuberant language of vss. 11-13. The comparison of the poet's joy to that of Atalanta would seem to be an unwarranted exaggeration,¹⁰ if the joy referred to were that of playing with the sparrow. If, however, the poet is referring to his delight at Lesbia's gracious encouragement of his suit, the language is appropriate. One might compare C. CVII, which expresses Catullus' joy at an unexpected visit of reconciliation from Lesbia. With particular reference to *gratum* and

⁹ Just as in Carmen CVII (see below).

¹⁰ To be sure, Catullus is addicted to exaggeration.

aureolum (vss. 11 and 12 of the present poem) one might compare CVII, 3-4:

Quare hoc est gratum nobis quoque, carius auro,
Quod te restituis, Lesbia, mi cupido.

My feeling as regards the emotional tone of the last three verses of the present poem agrees with that of Bernhard Schmidt,¹¹ who separates these verses from the preceding and remarks: "Ceterum quod poeta suum gaudium cum Atalantae componit, videtur colligi posse hos versiculos ad carmen pertinuisse in quo ille de aliquo in amore Lesbiae successu sive vero sive opinato ageret."

As for the question, sometimes raised,¹² of how far the details of this simile are meant to be pertinent, suffice it to say that they may have quite as much point, or quite as little, on the interpretation here suggested as on that which makes *tecum ludere* (or its equivalent) the subject of *gratum est*.

Against my interpretation there is one objection. I am compelled to assume that in C. II Catullus makes a demand upon the imagination of his reader, such as he makes nowhere else in all his writings. Nowhere else in Catullus does one have to read between the lines. This objection, however, does not seem to me an overwhelming one. A man of genius need not always repeat himself. It seems to me that Catullus may very well have adopted in Carmen II a method which he never again employed. If, however, this objection be thought to invalidate my interpretation, there is still another way of interpreting the poem as an unbroken whole. This is the interpretation of Professor Kent, who has kindly offered to state his argument in an Addendum, which follows.

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¹¹ Editio maior, Leipzig, 1887.

¹² Cf. J. Simon, *De comparationibus quae in Catulli carminibus leguntur*, Cilli, 1893, p. 22.

V.—ADDENDUM ON CATULLUS' PASSER.

I agree with Dr. Braunlich that there is no reason to divide the second poem of Catullus into two parts, but that it presents one united and harmonious picture. In the relation of verses 11-13 to the preceding lines, however, I disagree with her, and she has kindly allowed me to append my view, after her own exposition.

There seem to be two difficulties, the indicative in *gratum est*, and the inconcinnity of the comparison. Let us take the former point first. Lane-Morgan, *Latin Grammar*,² § 1497 (cf. §§ 1498-99), says: "Certain verbs and verbal expressions denoting ability, duty, propriety, necessity, and the like, mostly with an infinitive, are regularly put in the indicative, even when the action of the infinitive is not performed." This includes a number of neuter adjectives with forms of *esse*, the usual combinations being listed in § 1498. Hale and Buck, *Latin Grammar*, § 582, 3, b, say: "With certain adjectives with *est* (or *sunt*), the Present Indicative is the *fixed idiom* in Ciceronian Latin, as against the Present Subjunctive, which is not used." Cf. also Allen and Greenough, *New Latin Grammar*, § 521, a, note; Bennett, *Latin Grammar*, § 271; Harkness, *Complete Latin Grammar*, § 525, 1-2; Burton, *Latin Grammar*, §§ 921-923. It is true that the present indicative is less frequent in such use than the imperfect, the perfect, and the pluperfect; but we can cite a considerable number of examples of the present tense, such as *longum est*, Cic. *Verr.* 2. 1. 60. 156; *Sest.* 5. 12; *Phil.* 3. 2. 10; the equivalent phrase *longa referre mora est*, Ovid *Met.* 13. 205; *satiush est*, Cic. *pro Rosc. Amer.* 150. In all of these, the natural rendering in English is by a phrase of potentiality, not by a statement of fact.

I should therefore render these verses as follows, understanding from the preceding sentence as subject of *est* the words *tecum ludere sicut ipsa*: "<To play with you as she does> *would be as pleasant as . . .*" The reason for the present *est*, after the imperfect *possem*, is that the imperfect expressed the present unrealization of the wish; the present indicative, equal to the present subjunctive, has reference to a possible future realiza-

tion. Anything but the present indicative would seem to me utterly out of place; Catullus could not here admit the unattainability of his desires.

Now as to the inconcinnity of the comparison: All the poet means is that the privilege of playing with the sparrow is as attractive to him, as the golden apple was to Atalanta; that the nimble maid was willing to stop and pick up the golden apple, was a sign that she was not too averse to the suit of her competitor in the race; if Lesbia grants Catullus the opportunity of playing with her sparrow, it will be a sign that she is not unresponsive to his passion. The logic is good enough for a poet, and especially for a poet desperately in love. I cannot agree with my colleague Professor W. B. McDaniel, who thinks otherwise, and, in *CQ.* 2. 166-169, inserts one line before verses 11-13 and makes a separate poem of them. Neither can I agree with D. A. Slater, who, in *CQ.* 7. 122-125, entirely reconstructs the poem on the basis of manuscript G.

For these reasons, *Carmen II* of Catullus seems to me a harmonious whole, the separation of which is inexcusable without reasons other than those which have as yet been advanced. Dr. Braunlich has called my attention to a long note by Riese, in his edition of 1884 (Leipzig), who seems to incline toward my interpretation, yet without being able to detach himself from previous separatist views.

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VI.—CICERO, *AD ATTICUM* IV, 16, 14.

This passage seems to contain certain important facts about Caesar's early plans for the rebuilding of the Forum and Cicero's rôle as Caesar's agent in buying up ground for the new structures, but the passage is so confused and laconic, assuming as it does a knowledge of previous correspondence, that commentators can reach no agreement concerning its meaning. It is now usual to insert *in* before *monumentum* in order to secure a grammatical reading, but it is difficult to believe that Cicero could write so awkwardly as to define the phrase *ut forum laxaremus* by the word *monumentum*. The whole passage has a reasonable meaning if we reject the inserted *in* and place the words *monumentum . . . solebas* after *basilicam* (three lines above). We then read: Paulus in medio foro basilicam, monumentum illud quod tu tollere laudibus solebas, jam paene texerat isdem antiquis columnis; illam autem quam locavit facit magnificentissimam. Quid quaeris? nihil gratius illo monumento, nihil gloriosius. Itaque Caesaris amici (me dico et Oppium, dirumparis licet) ut forum laxaremus et usque ad Atrium Libertatis explicaremus contempsimus sexcenties HS. 'Paulus, using the old columns, had almost completed the roof of the basilica in the Forum, that monument which you were wont to praise with so much enthusiasm;¹ but the one for which he has now let contracts he is building in the most magnificent style. I assure you, nothing could bring him more popularity and honor than that monument. Accordingly, Oppius and I, the friends of Caesar (that phrase will enrage you doubtless) are freely spending sixty million sesterces to widen the Forum and to open it up as far as the Atrium Libertatis.'

The reference to Paulus' new basilica is clearly not to the Basilica Julia, as topographers hold, but to a complete rebuilding of the Aemilia. It seems that Paulus had some time before this undertaken to repair the ancestral basilica and had almost completed the work on a modest scale when he heard that Caesar

¹ Tacitus also speaks of the Basilica Aemilia as a noble monument of the Aemilian family (*Annales*, III. 72).

intended to erect buildings in front and behind which would inevitably overshadow his structure. Hence he decided to tear down the basilica and let contracts for an entirely new building; and the remains of this basilica, which Boni has excavated, prove that he carried out his plan thoroughly.

Cicero adds that the public approval of Paulus' course was so marked as to encourage Caesar's friends to renewed lavishness in their expenditures. Now it becomes clear that the phrase *ut forum laxaremus* refers to the widening of the Forum area southward to gain space for the Basilica Julia, while the words *ad Atrium Libertatis* refer to the purchases of ground northwest of the Forum for the site of the Forum Julii. It seems then that Cicero and Oppius, and not Paulus, were entrusted by Caesar with the first plans of the Basilica Julia.

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VII.—NOTE ON THE JOHNS HOPKINS TABELLAE DEFIXIONUM.

In *Glotta* XII (1922), pp. 65-66, E. Vetter discusses a certain passage in the text of the Johns Hopkins Tabellae Defixionum which I published as a supplement to the *American Journal of Philology* XXXIII (1912), 1. Among his comments he includes two or three suggestions which together explain one sentence in particular more satisfactorily than I was able to do in my annotations. It is only appropriate that I should acknowledge and record this elucidation of the text in a number of the same journal in which the text was first published.

I accept Vetter's contention that instead of *quicquid* (Avonia 38) one should read either *quisquis* (= *quisque*) or *quisque* itself; furthermore I believe that his interpretation of the sentence in which this word occurs is the right one. Accordingly, I submit a new translation of Plotius 38-41 and the corresponding sentence in the other tablets. "Whether too much or too little has been written (i. e. by the author of the curse), I surrender and consign Plotius to thee in the same way as does one who has properly (legitime—according to the laws of magic) composed and written a *defixio*."

Vetter's inference that the appeal to Proserpina indicates that the *defigens* is a woman is a happy one; it is well known that women in both blessing and cursing addressed their petitions to female divinities.

Vetter reports that his friend Dr. Rudolf Egger who "saw and read" the tablets in Rome while they were in the possession of a dealer in antiquities has informed him that the tablets were discovered just outside the Porta Salaria. Such definite information, though late, is welcome. However, the statement that Dr. Egger "read" the tablets is, probably unintentionally, misleading. In 1909 when I undertook the decipherment of the tablets, I was given access to the notes made upon them by Dr. Egger and later by Professor Christian Huelsen in their endeavor to recover a connected text. Both sets of notes were very meagre, but I was very grateful to their authors for even the

little help they afforded me at the outset of what seemed a hopeless task. Nevertheless, by no stretch of the imagination can Dr. Egger's effort be truthfully called a "reading" of the tablets.

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REPORTS.

HERMES LVII (1922), parts 1 and 2.

Carl Robert †Jan. 17, 1922 (Preface). Georg Wissowa gives a brief account of Robert's work.

Die Gliederung der rhetorischen *TEXNH* und die Horazische *Epistula ad Pisones* (1-62). K. Barwick establishes the tradition of two types of rhetorical schemes in the *Ad Herennium*, Cicero, Quintilian etc., namely: *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoria*, *pronuntiatio*; and again: *exordium*, *narratio*, *divisio*, *confirmatio*—*confutatio*, *conclusio* (cf. *Ad. Her. I*, 3 and 4). These two schemes are distinct in *Cic. partit. oratoriae* and in *Mart. Capella*; but are usually more or less interwoven. The Sicilian rhetoric began with the *partes orationis*, and dealt exclusively with the *genus iudiciale*. Isocrates, under the influence of Gorgias and Thrasymachus, gave a prominent place to *λέξις*, and included in his teaching (he did not publish a *τέχνη*) the *genus deliberativum* and *demonstrativum*. Plato criticized this older rhetoric as superficial and advocated a deeper study, in which he was followed by Aristotle. But before Aristotle published his extant rhetoric, there entered as an important factor in the development of rhetoric Theodectes, who was a pupil of Isocrates and Plato and a friend of Aristotle. Barwick develops a theory from an analysis of *Arist. rhetoric*, according to which the *τέχνη τῆς Θεοδέκτου συναγωγή*, to which Aristotle refers, consisted of two books dealing resp. with *πίστεις* and *λέξις*, which Aristotle wrote at the suggestion of Theodectes, and a third book entitled *τάξις*, in which Theodectes set forth the traditional divisions of *πρόλογος*, *διήγησις* etc. This work served Anaximenes as a model, which explains his dependence on Aristotle, although his *τέχνη* preceded the extant rhetoric of Aristotle, who in his turn revised and expanded his earlier work, devoting two books to the *πίστεις*, and condensed in book III, books II and III of the *Theodecteia*. That Aristotle modified earlier views is indicated by the twofold classification, in his extant rhetoric, of the *πίστεις ἐξ ἡθους καὶ πάθους*, which Barwick thinks he characterized in his original draft as *ἄτεχνοι*; but which later in life, when he had recognized the practical importance of persuasion, he made part of the *πίστεις ἐντεχνοί*. This explanation would clarify the somewhat confusing composition of Aristotle's rhetoric. The Hellenistic rhetoric developed the two types of rhetorical divisions: the Aristotelian, and the Theodectean-Isocratean. The *πίστεις* were now named *εὑρεσις*, suggested by Plato, who in *Phaedrus* 236 A, associates this with *διάθεσις* (= *τάξις*). Heraclides Ponticus was probably the one who not only introduced these changes,

but included the standpoint of the artifex, which involved the considerations of φύσις, μελέτη and ἐπιστήμη. Now, in as much as Heraclides also wrote a work *περὶ ποιητικῆς καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν*, it would seem, according to Barwick, that Horace's *ars poetica* can be analysed more clearly with the above background, which he undertakes in detail.

ΕΙΚΩΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ (63-79). E. Howald discusses this phrase and synonymous expressions, which recur repeatedly in Plato's *Timaeus*. Although in certain passages *εἰκὼς λόγος* etc. implies a desire for scientific probability, this becomes more than doubtful when we read passages like (55 E) διὸ γῇ μὲν τοῦτο (τὸ κυβικὸν εἶδος) ἀπονέμοντες τὸν εἰκότα λόγον διασφύζομεν, which display a mystic tendency. The *Timaeus* is, in the main, a myth, but some parts must be designated as mystical. Howald finds it necessary to check a recent tendency which tries to free Plato from the charge of mysticism, which is supposed to have originated with his immediate successors. This tendency is due to discoveries revealing Plato's scientific interest in recent doctrines (cf. Ida Hammer-Jensen, *Demokrit und Platon*, in *Archiv für Gesch. d. Philosophie* XXIII (1910), pp. 92-211 and Eva Sachs, *Die fünf platonischen Körper*, *Philol. Unters.* 24. Heft, Berlin 1917).

Amphiaraia und Panathenaia (80-106). E. Preuner says that the list of victors at the greater Amphiaraia of Oropus (IG VII 414) still furnishes the oldest detailed program for *μονοικῆς* and *γυμνικοὶ ἀγῶνες*, and shows the same to be true for the *ἵππικοὶ ἀγῶνες* by restoring IG II 5, 978 b, which has been shown to belong to the above inscription. The fact that the victors in the horse-races were Athenians, to which can be added that in the athletic contests all the victorious *παῖδες ἀπὸ γυμνασίων* were Athenians, shows that the date of the above Amphiaraia coincides with the period of Athens' control of Oropus. Preuner narrows this down to 335 B. C. His restoration is made possible by the *στοιχηδόν* form of the fragmentary inscription and by a comparison with the Panathenaic inscriptions of the fourth century B. C. (IG II 965) and with those of the second century B. C. (l. c. 966 ff.). These various inscriptions supplement one another, so that a remarkably diversified program for these festivals is displayed. Preuner discusses numerous details, including their early history, the reforms of Pericles and the part played by the Odeon. Preuner regards as more than probable that the *Σάτυρος Ἥλειος* (mentioned twice among the athletic victors at Oropos) is the same as the famous boxer whose statue by Silanion stood in Olympia, and accordingly assigns this sculptor to the second half of the fourth century B. C.

Zu Menanders Heros und Epitrepontes (107-118). G. Jach-

mann discusses scenes in Heros 55 ff. and in Epitrepontes 585 ff., with especial reference to the views of Sudhaus and Robert. He accepts Ida Kapp's view of the localities in Epitrep. (cf. A. J. P. 37, 364).

Die Sonnenfinsternis des Ennius und der Voriulianische Kalender (119-133). Karl Iulius Beloch holds that the Roman practice of determining the beginning of the month by observation of the new moon continued only until Cn. Flavius had reformed the calendar (Macrob. I 15, 9), the date of which he fixes at March 7, 303 B. C., by the fact that the new moon of March 4 was not visible before the evening of March 6 (cf. Liv. IX 46, 1; Plin. N. H. XXXIII 18). This date is confirmed by the eclipse of Ennius, which was recorded in the *tabulae pontificum*, as shown by Ennius' phrase: *Nonis Iunis soli luna obstitit et nox* (cf. Cato Orig. IV frag. 77 Peter). But in a moon-determined month no eclipse could take place on the fifth of the month; neither, in emending Cic. Rep. I 16, 25, which dates this eclipse: *Nonis Iuniis anno quinquagesimo fere post Romam conditam*, can any minor eclipse be considered. Hence, rejecting the emendation of Soltau (Proleg. p. 85), of Unger (Iwan Müller's Handb. I² 807 ff.) and of B. Sepp (Zeitschr. für Bayer. Gymn.-Schulwesen, 1886, p. 161) he emends: *anno quinquagesimo et quadringentesimo*, and holds that the only acceptable major eclipse was that of June 13, 288 B. C. This then was the first eclipse recorded in the *tabulae pontificum* and fell on June 5th of the reformed calendar. A number of historical events can be satisfactorily tested on this basis. A chronological table from 303 B. C. to 197 B. C. concludes the article.

Consulartribunen und Censoren (134-149). F. Münzer explains the surprising number of nine military tribunes for the year 380 B. C. recorded in the fragment of the Capitoline Fasti, discovered 1899 (Archäol. Anzeiger 1900, 6), as the result of adding three censors to the six military tribunes. For Livy VI 27, 4 f. relates that in 380 B. C. when the censor Postumius died, his colleague Sulpicius abdicated, whereupon two other censors were elected in their place. The redactor of the Fasti Cap. might now have recorded ten military tribunes; but realizing that a college of Decemvirs at this date would have been recognized as a fraud, he omitted the name of the deceased Postumius; hence the number nine. The discussion deals with numerous details.

Zu Nonius (150-154). E. Hedicke emends Nonius p. 175, 22 M. (cf. Lindsay, last edition): *subsicivum*] *secundum*, sequens to a new word: *subicivum*; but shows the correctness of the following *subsicivum* which is glossed with: *positum suc-*

cedens, succidaneum. In the case of dilig[it] dividit (Plautus in Curculione), he thinks that Nonius found dilig[it] (for dissic[it]) in his Plautus, and in glossing this with dividit, he exemplified Bentley's criticism: homo ineptus ex ipso loco significationem fingit.

Miscellen: F. Hiller v. Gaertringen (155-156) restores an inscription from Aigeai (or Aigai Strabo XIV 676) to read: *Κιλικίαν, ἣτις ἐστὶν τέρμα τῆς πρὸς [δυσμᾶς Ἀσίας]* instead of [*ἀνατολὰς* A.] in Bull. Hell. XXVIII 1904, 421. The known adventures of Perseus in Cilicia were confined to his founding of Tarsus, according to Vollgraff; but v. G. interprets this inscription to show that he also dedicated a statue of Athena at Aigeai. —E. Täubler (156-160) discusses four fragments of Naevius' *Bellum Poenicum*, which have been erroneously referred to the treaty of 241 B. C.—F. Bechtel (160) emends von Planta, inscription No. 200 (*Inventar von Agnone*) to read *saka<ra>hiter*, probably a subjunctive.

Die Parodos der Aischyleischen Septem (161-170). †C. Robert emends, interprets and arranges strophically verses 78-180, partly in opposition to Wilamowitz. He assigns the dochmiac verses 78-107 to half choruses, but the iambic trimeters vv. 100 and 104 with Wilamowitz, to the coryphaeus. The dochmiacs following v. 104, he admits, may have been sung by the undivided chorus. There is no responsion in vv. 110-150, although this passage, being addressed to various divinities, shows six divisions. Strophic arrangement is clear in vv. 151-180; but Robert here assigns the interjections and lines 163-165 to the whole chorus, as well as the strophe and antistrophe in vv. 166-180.

Zur Erkenntnislehre der späteren Stoa. Ptolemaios *Περὶ κριτηρίων καὶ ἡγεμονικοῦ* 10, 11-13, 13 H. (171-188). F. Lammert continues his study of this document (cf. Wiener Studien XXXIX, XLI and XLII) with a detailed examination of his criteria, and shows that for Ptolemaeus *αἰσθησις* and *νοῦς* were *κριτήρια*, the *νοῦς* being *τὸ πλεῖστον κριτήριον*. Although Ptolemaeus' views cannot be traced to any single name, they are clearly related to the Middle Stoa.

Plotin oder Numenios? III (189-218). Fr. Thedinga (cf. A. J. P. XLI, p. 384) translates Plotinus' *Ennead VI 9 Περὶ τἀγαθοῦ ἢ τοῦ ἐνός*, and points out how chapters 1-3, 6 and 8 form a continuous and complete treatment of the subject, and how, on the other hand, chapters 4, 5, 7 and 9-11, in their turn, hang together. He, further, describes on the basis of the *vita Plotini*, the circumstances under which Porphyrius edited the *Enneads*. The doctrines of Numenios are known to have been very similar to those of Plotinus; the style of the two sections differs, and,

furthermore, the second series of chapters contain allusions to myths and the mysteries, which were peculiar to Numenius: hence the additions which Porphyrius said he had made (presumably chapt. 4, 5, 7 and 9-11), were taken from Numenius. Plotinus concludes ch. 8 with *χορεύαν ἐνθεον*; Numenius seems to have begun ch. 9 with *ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πορείᾳ*, which agrees with the conception of a journey as described in ch. 4, and, thus conceived, the sentence is intelligible; but to make a close connection at this point Porphyrius, apparently, substituted *χορεία* for *πορεία*, thereby obscuring the sense.

Zwei Quellen des sogenannten Plutarch de Fluviis (219-246). F. Atenstädt has traced a number of passages in Steph. B. to Alexander Polyhistor by means of the word (*μεθ*) *ἐρμηνεύειν*, which he defends against Reusz (Wochenschr. f. kl. Ph. XXVII 576). He now, from passages in Pausanias, who is believed to have made a large use of Alex. Pol., makes this voluminous writer to have been the source of numerous passages in Ps.-Plut. de fluviis. II. The sections in Ps.-Plut. de fluviis which treat of the magical properties of plants and stones, are shown by comparison with Plin. N. H. to depend on the physician Xenocrates of Aphrodisias (cf. A. J. P. 31, 483).

Zur Hippokratischen Frage (247-265). W. Capelle rejects the hypothesis of Gomperz that Plato, Phaedrus 270 C, refers to the author of *Περὶ ἀρχαίης ἰητρικῆς*; for Hippocrates in the Phaedrus passage denies the possibility of scientific medicine without a general knowledge of nature, whereas the *Περὶ ἀρχ. ἰητρ.* ch. 20, would have medicine be the foundation of a general knowledge. C. then shows that Pohlenz is mistaken in supposing that ch. 20 of *Περὶ ἀρχ. ἰητρ.* contains an attack on Hippocrates (i. e. Phaedr. 270 C). The demand for a general knowledge in the Phaedr. passage appears in Archytas and also in ch. 12 of *Περὶ ἐβδομάδος*, which shows Pythagorean influence; moreover medicine was a subject pursued by the old Pythagoreans. This, then, is the proper background of the Phaedrus passage. As to Pohlenz's idea that the opposition of *ἐμπειρία-τέχνη*, in Laws IV 720 ff. and IX 857 D, was derived from medical sources, Capelle holds that Plato was the first to formulate this antithesis.

Alexandrinische und jüdische Gesandte vor Kaiser Hadrian (266-316). A. v. Premierstein revises and discusses the "Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs" (Pap. Par. 68 etc. cf. A. J. P. 15, p. 390/1), and extracts from them a detailed history of the conflicts between the Jews and Alexandrian Greeks in the years 115-117 A. D. (cf. Eusebius, hist. eccl. IV 2, 1 f.). These documents purport to give the minutes of a hearing before a Roman emperor of a delegation of Alexandrians and Jews, each party

blaming the other for disorders that had taken place in Alexandria. The hearing took place in Rome before Hadrian (not Trajan), soon after his accession. The documents are clearly not actual minutes, but nevertheless are essentially historical. Their purpose was to show the hostile attitude of the Roman government to the Greeks of Alexandria. The longer document was probably published in Alexandria during a period of disturbance, perhaps 122 A. D. The condensed account **b** (Wilcken), dated circ. 200 + A. D., should be classed with the so-called Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs.

Miscellen: G. Jachmann (317-319) interprets Vergil's Catalepton VII (Ribbeck, Catalecta IX) without emendation. Vergil begins with a confession, but suddenly remembers the praecepta of Siro, and then, *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*, instead of obedience to the praecepta moralia, remembering the praecepta rhetorica, substitutes puer for the unrhythmical pūtus.—† C. Robert (320) identifies the 'warrior' on the red-figured vase from Kamarina (Atti d. Lincei XIV Taf. 49 p. 802 f.) as Meleager (cf. Iliad IX 529 ff.).

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GLOTTA, XII. Band (1922-3).

Pp. 1-7. E. Schwyzer, Onomatologisches und Grammatisches aus griechischen Dialektinschriften. 1. Die Monatsnamen Ἀράνιος und Πραράνιος (both from Dor. ἀρα- = Att. ἀρο- = Lt. *arāre*, the second with prefix προ-). 2. Die eleischen Dualformen auf -οιοις (δνοίοις = Skt. *dvayōs*, with assimilation of the diphthong in the ultima). 3. Der Konjunktiv zu εἶμι (εἶω forms).

Pp. 8-29. E. Schwyzer, Deutungsversuche griechischer, besonders homerischer Wörter. "The words treated form a unit methodologically in this respect, that the analysis almost never leaves the ground of the Greek language." 1. (ἀ)θέσφατος (read ἀ-θ. for the only occurrence of θ. "in steigerndem Sinne," η 143). 2. ἀκαχμένος (= "besteckt"; to ἔγχοις). 3. ἀκρεῖβής (ἀκρεῖβ-ής " (bis) zu oberst (voll) geträufelt" [εἶβω, "träufeln"], so "genau"). 4. ἀτασθαλος (ἀτας θάλλων). 5. ἐπι(τα)ρροθος. 6. ἔρις (: ἐρείδω). 7. (ἐν) καρὸς (αἴσῃ), "in dem Anteil (Bereich) der Todesgöttin (κῆρ)." 8. κρήγνος und κρήδεμνον (κρη-: κέρας; -γνος cf. γν- "hohle Hand," in ἐγγύη etc.; κρήγνος = "was Haupt und Hand hat"). 9. ὀρσολοπος (= λέπων τὸν ὄρρον). 10. προθέουσιν A 291 (to προθήμι, Aeolic for προσίημι). 11. ρεθέων (: Av. *uruθwar*, "Eingeweide"). 12. σιγα (adverb, not imperative).

Pp. 29-50. Karl Kunst, Vom Wesen und Ursprung des absoluten Genetivs. Originates in fusion of two constructions, a

gen. of time (typically associated with a durative [present] participle), and an ablative of cause (with aorist ppl.).

Pp. 51-61. P. Kretschmer, *Mythische Namen* (Fortsetzung). 11. Triptolemos (from πόλεμος "Anstrengung, Mühe": πελεμίζω, originally "sich heftig anstrengen"). 12. Oidipus und Melampus (both originally chthonic, serpent demons; "Swell-foot" and "Black-foot" allude to serpentine forms).

Pp. 61-63. G. N. Hatzidakis, *Griechische Miscellen*. 1. Δοφ-έναι, nicht δο-φέναι (the *φ* is shown by forms of the root *dō* to be a "root-determinative"). 2. Ἥτεια—Σητεία—Στεία. An old non-Greek name which began with a sibilant, perhaps *š*, which was unknown in Greek and therefore omitted altogether (!) in the form Ἥτεια, while the natives represented it imperfectly by Σητεία.

Pp. 63-67. E. Vetter, *Zu lateinischen Fluchtafeln*. 1. Bleitafel aus Minturnae CIL. X 8249. *vitū* for *victum*, "Essen." 2. Zu Johns Hopkins Tabellae defixionum (Fox, AJP. 23. 1, suppl.). In I 38 and corresponding places of other tablets read *quisqu[e]* or *quisqu[is]* instead of *quicqu[id]* (Fox); *quomodo quisque* (*quisquis*) *legitime scripsit* = "in solcher Weise, wie es gemacht hat, wer richtig geschrieben . . . hat"; no reference to counter-magic, as Fox believed. [Compare W. S. Fox above, p. 357.] 3. Svavivulva? (Audollent 264, 12 sqq., 265 A 4 sqq., *Victoria quem* (sic) *peperit sua vulva*, so to be read; no proper name *Sva(vi)vulva, cf. Postgate, CQ 7, 122).

Pp. 67-68. K. Mras, *Eine griechische Parallele zu quiritare*. ποτνιαόμαι = "πότνια rufen."

Pp. 68-82. R. Wimmerer, *Noch einmal ἐπιούσιος*. (Cf. Glotta IV 249 ff., VI 28 f.) Upholds the derivation of this word in the Lord's Prayer from (ἡ) ἐπιούσα (ἡμέρα; from ἐπιέναι), which meant either "der laufende Tag" or "der herankommende Tag," the latter denoting the following civil day which began at sundown.

Pp. 82-83. E. Weiss, *LEX PROQUIRITATA*. Kretschmer's explanation of *Quirites* as from **coviriom* explains, and also is supported by, the verb *proquiritare*, to publish a law passed by the assembly of citizens.

Pp. 83-100. K. Orinsky, *Die Wortstellung bei Gaius*. "In dem Streben nach Deutlichkeit befolgt Gaius den Grundsatz der Anfangs- bzw. Endstellung betonter Begriffe mit der grössten Konsequenz." The negation, accented adverbs, etc. tend to come at the beginning of subordinate clauses.

Pp. 100-102. M. Hammarström, *Die Behandlung des aulautenden s vor Konsonanten bei den römischen Dichtern*.

Pp. 103-107. P. Kretschmer, Mythische Namen. 13. Andromache und andere homerische Namen. Andromache is named after the character of her husband, not after her own; she is "cum grano salis eine Frau Andromachos." 14. Die Nymphe Minthe und lat. *mentula*. *mentula* slang diminutive of *menta*, "mint," which passed for an aphrodisiac, cf. the story of the nymph Μίνθη, Strabo VIII 344.

Pp. 107-112. Hermann Ammann, Wortstellung und Stilentwicklung. Position of adjectives in Homer, exemplified by study of position of the adjective λευκός. "Die Folge Subst. + Adj. ist bei λευκός in der Ilias vielfach, auch in beschreibendem Zusammenhang, in der Odyssee nur in 'stehenden,' mehr oder weniger formelhaften Verbindungen nachzuweisen, die sich sämtlich in der Ilias schon vorfinden. Die Folge Adj. + Subst., der ursprünglich 'emphatisch' gesteigerte Anschaulichkeit innewohnt . . . , wird in der Schildbeschreibung und in der Odyssee auch auf formelhafte Verbindungen . . . übertragen, die in den übrigen Teilen der Ilias nur die Folge Subst. + Adj. aufweisen."

Pp. 112-127. G. Wolterstorff, Zum Geschlechtswechsel von *dies*. Maintains that *dies* was originally fem. (retained in popular language, so in Vulgar Lat. *dies dominica*, Ital. *domenica*, Fr. *dimanche*), and became masc. (in all senses, not semantically restricted) in the literary language under the influence of various analogies, notably *sol*, *annus*, *mensis*. Other examples of analogical change of gender in expressions of time in various languages. Fr. *dimanche* became masc. by analogy of the other names for days of the week. (Cf. Kretschmer, below, 151 f.)

Pp. 127-137. H. Lackenbacher, Zur Etymologie von *filum*. This word in the meaning "formation, form" is the same word as *filum* "thread," contrary to the now usual assumption of two separate words (Fröhde, J. Schmidt, Walde); cf. the Lucretian use of *textura* = *figura*, *natura*.

Pp. 137-144. F. Harder, Acredula—ἄλολγόν. The Latin word used by Cicero as translation of the Greek. Great uncertainty as to the meaning of both; widely different interpretations, ancient and modern. The writer concludes that a "Tagvogel mit zarter klagender Stimme" must be meant, but is unable to define it more precisely.

Pp. 144-147. R. Thurneysen, Ἀρυλιῶναι und anderes Arkadisches. A group of notes on troublesome words in Arcadian inscriptions.

P. 148. E. Leumann: *Axitia* pl. t. "Scheere." Not "Schminkegefäß" (M. Leumann, Glotta XI 185-8). From stem **axit-* (cf. *com-it-*), "Axengänger."

Pp. 148-150. G. N. Hatzidakis, Neugriechisches. 1. Σαννάς = ἀγρία αἶξ (gloss of Hesychius, supported by modern Cretan usage). 2. Κυπαρισσιφῶς—Κύπαρις—Γύπαρις. [A postscript states that Κυπαρισσιφῶς is a false reading.] 3. Ἀχάρνα—Ἀρχάρες.

Pp. 151-2. P. Kretschmer, Das doppelte Geschlecht von lat. *dies*. Wolterstorff's suggestion above (112 ff.) is impossible because the etymology of *dies* proves it to be a prehistoric masc. But K. suspects that W. is right in denying differentiation of meaning between masc. and fem. *dies*. The masc. became fem. by analogy of *nox*.

P. 152. P. Kretschmer, Korinth. ἐν 'ist.' Finds this form (<ἐνεστι), common as copula (in the form εἶναι) in Mod. Gk., used so in an inscription in Corinthian alphabet of the 6th century B. C. A Dorism of the popular Koine.

Pp. 153-178. P. Linde, Die Stellung des Verbs in der lateinischen Prosa. Based on study of representative prose writers from Cato to Aetheria, and inscriptions. The most important results are summarized: "1. Imperative stehen meist voran. 2. Infinitive folgen meist dem regierenden Verb. 3. Bei lebhafter Darstellung wird der Fortschritt der Handlung mit Vorliebe durch Anfangsstellung des Verbs ausgedrückt. 4. Nach temporalem Vordersatz herrscht im Nachsatz Anfangsstellung. 5. Betonte Worte verdrängen das Verb oft vom Satzende. 6. Unbetonte Verba, bes. *esse*, werden enklitisch an die 2. Stelle oder sonst hinter ein betontes Wort geschoben. 7. Im Nebensatz überwiegt die Endstellung."

Pp. 179-277. Literaturbericht für die Jahre 1919 und 1920, by Kretschmer, Herbig, Hartmann, and Kroll.

P. 277. W. Schulze, Zur lat. Deklination. Gen. sg. in (disyllabic) *-ai* to names in *-aeus*; additional examples (from inscriptions).

Pp. 278-283. P. Kretschmer, Messapische Göttinnen. Messap. inscr. *Laidehiabas Logetibas*; dats. plur. fem. like *deabus*. The second word = Sicilian Λάγεις, Gk. Λάχεις. Other notes on Messapian inscriptions.

Pp. 283-4. P. Kretschmer, Zu lat. *mentula*. Romanic words point to a Vulgar Lat. **mincla* for *mentula*. The form *mencla* with *c* is found in a Lat. inscription. The *i* for *e* is not, as has been suggested, due to the influence of *mingere*, but to that of Gk. μίνθη.

P. 284. P. Kretschmer, Messap. *kavasbo*.

Pp. 285-294. Indices, by E. Williger.

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REVIEWS.

ADOLF SCHULTEN: *Tartessos; ein Beitrag zur ältesten Geschichte des Westens*. Hamburgische Universität, Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde. Band 8, Reihe B, Band 5. Hamburg, 1922. viii, 93 pp.

The author, already well known to all specialists in the early history of Spain for such standard researches as his *Numantia* (1905), and the edition with commentary of Avienus, *Ora Maritima* (1922), has this time put all students of ancient culture in the West under his obligation.

In this learned, thorough-going, and entertainingly written study he comes to what seem to be the following principal conclusions: That there was a city Tartessos, established probably by immigrants from the East, possibly Crete, or even western Asia by way of northern Africa (15, 3), which at least as far back as the second millennium before Christ, and probably even in the third, had developed in southern Spain an indigenous culture, characterized especially by an extensive metal industry (mainly silver and bronze, in both of which the Tartessians were early preëminent), by considerable commerce with the North and West of Europe, and even by a literature (although, as will appear below, there may be some doubt as to how ancient their annals, poems, and laws actually were). That the Tartessians traded extensively at first with the Phoenicians, Tartessos being the Tarshish of the Old Testament, and later on with the Phocæans, principally from Massilia, but were subjugated and their principal city destroyed by the Carthaginians about 500 B. C. That the realm of Tartessos, therefore, in the lower valley of the Guadalquivir was another one of those relatively few independent centers of culture, like the valley of the Nile, Mesopotamia, China, Mexico, and Peru, and that consequently much light will be thrown upon the early culture of the West when successful excavations shall uncover the ruins of Tartessos, which Professor SCHULTEN, despite repeated fruitless efforts to find some trace of the lost city, is still inclined to seek among the sand dunes at La Marismilla, about 10 km. inland from the mouth of the river, upon the right bank.

Interesting by-products among others are the studies of the ancient commerce in tin, especially with Ireland, and the conclusion that the tin mines of Cornwall were not worked prior to the sixth century B. C. (11. 67); the very plausible suggestion that Tartessos furnished many of the details for the doubtless composite Atlantis-myth of Plato (53 ff.), a view which seems to have quite as much to commend it as the similar

Cretan hypothesis (The London *Times*, Feb. 17, 1909, etc.) ; that in many ancient texts 'Gades' stands falsely for 'Tartessos,' a fact which led Movers in his influential work upon the Phoenicians to deny the historical reality of Tartessos, but where Eduard Meyer (*Geschichte des Altertums*, II, 692), as so frequently elsewhere, was the first in recent times to point out the true relations; and that in the *Ora Maritima* of Avienus there is embedded a Massiliotic *Periplous* of about 530 B. C., a thesis, to be sure, which is set forth in detail in SCHULTEN's recent edition of that work, but the historical deductions from which he has for the first time fully developed in this study.

With these general results one can scarcely be in any but complete accord. There are, however, and quite necessarily so, where so much of the evidence is fragmentary and obscure, a few minor points upon which I feel some doubts, and the principal ones of these I shall here venture to submit to the learning and judgment of the author for his consideration.

In *I Kings*, 10, 22, the "peacocks" from Tarshish (4) apparently make some trouble, since the peacock seems not to have been an African bird at all, but Indian in origin. There is perhaps here some contamination with records of Oriental trade, which might qualify somewhat the value of this citation at least from the Old Testament.

Should not the possibility remain open until further archaeological investigation has given a conclusive answer, that some of the silver in the eastern Mediterranean (5), even in Minoan times, might have been derived from Attica? Minoan settlements existed in the vicinity of the silver mines, and these may have been worked in the pre-Hellenic period.—I rather doubt also if a story that Daedalus built the *nurhags* of Sardinia (7, 3) is really good evidence for ancient commerce between that island and Crete; it sounds too much like many another brag or wild guess on the part of the Greeks.

In the passage from Strabo, τῆς παλαιᾶς μνήμης ἔχουσι συγγράμματα καὶ ποιήματα καὶ νόμους ἐμμέτρους ἑξακισχιλίων ἐτῶν, ὥς φασι (III, 1, 6), of which Professor Schulten naturally makes a good deal (8. 12. 13. 55. 69, etc.), one will readily grant that ἐτῶν should not be changed to ἐπῶν, as has been suggested, but it is not clear to me just how much this statement really proves. At times the author quite correctly says the 6000 years apply only to the annals, and that the early period of these is, of course, mythical (for example, p. 70); but again he speaks of "einer 6000 Jahre alten tartessischen Literatur" (13); "die 6000 Jahre alte Literatur der Tartessier" (59); "6000 Jahre alten Annalen, Lieder und Gesetze" (71); terms which suggest that the Tartessians 6000 years before Christ had not only a written language but also a highly diversified literature, in particular,

and perhaps most surprising of all, a code of laws. This I confess I find difficult to believe, partly because nothing quite like it can be adduced as a parallel even among more vigorous and extensive civilizations elsewhere, but also because such an achievement in so remote an antiquity simply must have exerted more influence upon other peoples during the hypothetical five and one-half thousand years which it lasted, than is anywhere discoverable today. The passage in Strabo can scarcely mean any more than that the Tartessians at the time of Posidonius, Strabo's direct source no doubt (8. 59), possessed written annals, poetry, and laws, and that for them their history, very likely their story of the creation of man, began 6000 years before. Surely there is nothing here that *requires* us to believe that, before the advent of the Romans even, the Turdetani actually had a written literature, although it is no doubt possible that as early as Minoan days they had some knowledge of writing (Evans thinks that the Iberian script shows eight Cretan characters [compare p. 7], which would be surprising if the Tartessians had developed an alphabet thousands of years before), and may have possessed a respectable literature from the days of their earliest contact with the Phoenicians, although I should be sceptical even of that.

The king's name "Geron" would hardly seem to be correctly designated as "der den Griechen unbekannte Name Geron" (19); since as Γέρον (for so any Greek must have written it) it is such a common word as to make me suspect that it may not be Tartessian at all, but possibly a reflection from the cult of Γῆρας (75), the years of Arganthonios, and the general reverence for old age (cf. 57), perhaps a translation of the actual name, or, through some fancied resemblance, a substitute for it, since Professor Schulten is probably right in treating Geron as an historical figure (23). Indeed, it may also be that the sea-god Glaukos came to Spain through the equation Γλαῦκος = ἄλιος γέρον = Γέρον (cf. 35). Greek names in this story of the West are in any event rather suspiciously frequent. Thus Midacritus, the first to bring tin from the Cassiterides, is pretty clearly Μειδόκριτος, as Professor Schulten observes (26), while Pephrasmenus (Vitruvius, X, 13, 2) the Phoenician 'inventor' of the battering-ram at the siege of Gades (= Tartessos) is merely ὁ πεφρασμένος, 'the man who has considered' (55)—"Bright by name and by nature," as Morgan wittily translates the passage,—obviously an impossible designation for a Phoenician, and as a *redender* Name suspicious even in Greek, while it is notorious that the battering-ram was used in the Orient long before this date, ca. 500 B. C.

Εὔμηλος (Plato, *Critias*, 114b) is not very naturally translated as suggesting "Insel der schönen Rinder" (56), which

would better have been Εὑβοίος, if oxen, for which Tartessos was noteworthy, were to be especially signalized.—To the evidence for the singing of the laws of Charondas might be added the office of νομοδότης as Mazaka in Asia Minor, where these laws were in vogue (Strabo, XII, 2, 9).

But these are very trifling matters in comparison with the main theses, and, in closing, one inevitably recurs to the expression of gratitude for an admirably informative and stimulating study.

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Le Origini del Romanzo Greco. By BRUNO LAVAGNINI. 104 pp., 8°. Pisa, F. Mariotti, 1921.

The interesting but difficult problem relating to the origin and growth, as a literary type, of the Greek erotic romance has long been waiting for a satisfactory solution. Of the several books that have been written on this subject in the past the most important is that of Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, Leipzig, 1876 (3rd ed. 1914). But, though Rohde's book is valuable for its bearing on many matters of literary history, and famous for its wealth of erudition, relevant and irrelevant, nevertheless it failed to answer convincingly the chief question involved: How and when did the romance originate? Rohde believed that the book of Antonius Diogenes, *On the Wonders beyond Thule* (1st cent. P. C.), was the forerunner of all the ancient erotic romances, and that this *Urroman* was compounded (*nur ganz mechanisch zusammengesetzt*) of two distinct literary types, the erotic legend of Hellenistic times and the ethnographic story of travel. The erotic element, however, appears to have been altogether subordinate and untypical, while the main interest throughout the twenty-four books lay in the endless relation of marvels. Indeed, it is a rather far call from this ethnographical work of Diogenes to any one of the extant romances. But this is perhaps a minor matter. The discovery in 1893 of the so-called Ninus romance has proved what was very probable on other grounds (see W. Schmid in the 3rd ed. of Rohde's book, pp. 602 ff.), namely, that the Greek erotic romance, in its most essential features, was in full bloom by the end of the 1st century B. C.; hence that Diogenes has no place in the tradition. We must look elsewhere.

The Ninus Romance, together with other papyrus fragments found since Rohde's time, have placed the problem in a new setting. The first scholar to appreciate the significance of the new material was Ulrich Wilcken, and his brief but stimulating suggestions (*Archiv f. Papyrusforschung* I (1901), p. 257)

have been followed out with notable success by Signor LAVAGNINI in the present monograph. LAVAGNINI believes that the romance evolved through the popular elaboration of local sagas, most of which were indigenous to Greece and Ionia. He calls attention to the fact that the principals in the new and earlier romances (those of Ninus, Chione, and Parthenope) are mythical or historical, and that their biographies as told in divine or heroic legend, being subjected to popular imagination in Hellenistic times, have become altered and humanized. This process is illustrated by the examination of a large number of local legends, the most significant of which, perhaps, is that of Ninus and Semiramis. In the early legend, Ninus, as our author points out, is known chiefly as the eponymous founder of Nineveh and a great Assyrian conqueror. He is distinctly a national and political character. After reducing to subjection the greater part of western Asia, he marries Semiramis, daughter of the deified Derceto of Askalon, having taken her by force away from her husband. Not long afterwards Ninus dies and the fame of Semiramis supplants that of her husband. But the romance tells a different story. Here Ninus is primarily a lover, and, though a successful soldier, is only seventeen years old. Semiramis, to whom Ninus is betrothed, is a young virgin. Instead of being a stranger, she is his own cousin, the daughter of a mortal mother, Derceia, who is still living. Such, briefly, is the evolution, so far as we know it, of the story of Ninus. From an original heroic saga it has become a typical erotic romance, exhibiting all the essential features of the later sophistic romance, and as unmistakably the model of Chariton and the others as Greek epic is of Apollonius Rhodius. Our author traces a similar development from the saga in the fragments of the romance of Parthenope and Metiochus, and in that of Chione. He also points out distinct traces of the same thing in the extant romances, and reminds us that the romances of Alexander and of Apollonius of Tyre, like those of mediaeval Europe, grew up in the same way. The concentration of interest in the individual and his human passions and fortunes, and the consequent disregard of his quondam national or divine significance, are characteristic of the Hellenistic Age during which the erotic novel sprang up.

Signor LAVAGNINI discusses the process of growth from the short legend to the lengthy romance of adventure by land and sea somewhat more briefly than one might wish. In general he emphasizes the initial influences of local historiography and the popular, semi-literary treatment to which the romantic material, unlike that of more formal literature, was constantly subjected. The basic legends were apparently regarded somewhat as public property, while the claims of individual writers,

some of whom, as in later times, appear to have remained anonymous or pseudonymous, amounted to little. Under such conditions it is not surprising that continual accretions should be made, the more so after the legends had spread abroad and had lost their original local character. Thereafter the imagination of individual writers would be given freer play, and the story, instead of being regarded as history, would be looked upon as a legitimate theme for sophistic elaboration. New episodes, or the suggestions for them, could be, and indeed often have been borrowed by one romance writer from another and from other sources oral and literary. Doubtless, too, some of the episodes are due to early contamination with other legends as the account of Nectanebus in the story of Alexander. The main purpose which the manifold and adventurous episodes served, and for which they were created, was merely to prolong the dramatic suspense preceding the climax when the lovers were reunited or married. It is obvious that the geographic and ethnographic element in the romance was not, as Rohde supposed, an essential nucleus from which it grew. Stories of travel, *Wundererzählungen*, and the like were nearly always told as contemporary experiences, whereas in the romance, the action, as LAVAGNINI observes in another connection, invariably takes place in a far-off past. In most of the extant romances the scene of action is confined to the Aegean basin, Asia Minor, and Egypt—in other words, to the center of the Hellenistic world. None of them takes us to strange far-away lands as does Antonius Diogenes, nor does the ethnographic element intrude itself beyond the limits of serving as a frame-work for the plot. In order to be separated, to become the sport of Fortune, the lovers are made to travel; but the essential thing is not the travel, but the separation and mischance which the travel occasions, and which serves to prolong the dramatic interest and suspense.

The reviewer would have been glad if the author had devoted more space to an examination of the extant romances to which he refers only briefly and occasionally. Such an examination would probably have brought to light numerous traces of local legend and cult to substantiate the main argument. But in spite of its partial incompleteness LAVAGNINI's book is thoroughly convincing and scholarly. The facts are closely adhered to throughout and sanely interpreted. The author is to be congratulated on having made an important contribution to literary history. He has solved the long-standing problem of the origins of the romance in as satisfactory a way as it is likely ever to be solved. Much, of course, remains to be done and said, for the history of the ancient romance has yet to be written. But LAVAGNINI has shown us the way; and his main conclusions are likely to stand the test of time and criticism.

B. E. PERRY.

Ysopet-Avionnet: The Latin and French Texts, edited by KENNETH MCKENZIE and WILLIAM A. OLDFATHER. The University of Illinois, 1919. 8vo, 286 pp. + xii plates. \$1.50. (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. V, No. 4.)

Professors MCKENZIE and OLDFATHER of the University of Illinois have given to the scholarly world a beautiful and trustworthy edition of a mediæval collection of Æsopic Fables which will but add to their already established reputation in university circles. The two texts they have jointly and severally edited have long been known to students of mediæval literature, but have never hitherto been published in their entirety, or received the attention they deserved. Having myself in the summer of 1897 seen most of the manuscripts which the editors have used to establish their texts, and having been honored by the editors themselves in the way of numerous references to my published studies of Æsopic Fable Literature, it is with a peculiar pleasure that I have undertaken to write a notice of their book.

In a footnote on page 17 reference is made to an unfortunate error which I seem to have made in regard to one of the Paris manuscripts. I cheerfully acknowledge that an all too scanty note made in 1897 must have led me into making an erroneous statement when I published my article on *The History of French Fable Manuscripts* in 1909. In this connection I may add that the interrelation of the manuscripts as set forth by the editors on p. 19 appears to me on general principles to be somewhat too schematic, although I cannot in this place discuss the question fully. The impressions received during many years of work in this field while directing research by students of Fable Literature under the guidance of the late Professor A. Marshall Elliott would tend to make me believe that Mediæval French manuscripts were not usually related in such simple fashion. Still the editors may be correct in their painstaking deductions. I fail to find in the Introduction any reference to my article entitled *Problems in Mediæval Fable Literature* (which might well have been cited for its bibliography), or to *The Versions of the Fable of the Peacock and Juno* by A. E. Curdy, and *The Ysopet of Jehan de Vignay* edited by Guy E. Snavely, all three being contained in the *Studies in Honor of A. Marshall Elliott* published in 1911. It might be noted also that one of the French manuscripts (B. N. f. 1594) is thus described in the 1518 catalogue of the Librairie de Blois by Guillaume Petit:

85. Fables de Esope, en rime, historiées, et sont en françoys et en latin.

Monsieur H. Omont has kindly supplied the identification of the manuscript in a courteous note dated Sept. 26, 1922, in reference

to his edition of the catalogue in 1908. (Cf. *Anciens Inventaires et Catalogues de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, t. I, p. 12.)

A feature of special interest in this edition is the series of twelve plates at the end of the volume on which are reproduced in black and white numerous miniatures in the original manuscripts, as well as one whole page of text. These illustrations in themselves might well lead to much discussion as to the art of portraying fable situations in the Middle Ages in manuscripts, in the far-famed Bayeux tapestry and on buildings. The leader in such discussions, Professor Georg Thiele of the universities of Marburg and Greifswald, died in 1917 and it may be mentioned that certain desk copies of his own publications on Fable Literature have recently come into the possession of the reviewer through the kindness of Frau Professor Frida Thiele.

The texts here edited form a part of the enormous Gualterus Anglicus tradition (an outline scheme of which as a "finder" would have been welcome), for, as is well known, his short collection of fables became a favorite text-book in the schools; but the editors have only been able to refer briefly to this extensive field of research—and indeed it is largely still unexplored and likely essentially to remain so for many years to come.

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Aristoteles' praktische Philosophie (Ethik und Politik), von
ALBERT GOEDECKEMEYER. 1 + 253 pp. Leipzig, Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung m. b. H., 1922.

This treatise is an attempt to present a logical development of Aristotle's ethical and political philosophy which will bring out their harmony both with each other and with the *Metaphysics*. As a consequence of this purpose the author discusses ethics as the science of the form of conduct, and politics as the science of providing for the realization of that form. In other words he interprets Aristotle as denoting the aim of society to be the encouragement and stimulation of the moral life, namely the activity of sages. He reconstructs the Aristotelian argument with pains and accuracy. It must however be admitted that he adds but little to Aristotle's own treatment of the subject which is now fairly accessible at least to English readers.

There are one or two points in his discussion which should not be allowed to pass without comment. The first is his treatment of Aristotle primarily as a Platonist. This is an excellent idea if not overemphasized. Aristotle was indeed a Platonist to the extent of not being a sceptic, a cynic, or a cyrenaic. He recognizes his kinship with the Academy not only in the *Meta-*

physics but rather touchingly in the *Ethics* as well (1096 a, 11 and thereabouts). Yet he is also conscious of great differences of opinion which were real differences. One of the bits of evidence, moreover, which Professor GOEDECKEMEYER cites of their fundamental agreement, would make almost all the Greek philosophers Platonists. That is (p. 4) that both Plato and Aristotle believed in the "eleatic presupposition" that true and unalterable knowledge could be based only on true and unalterable Being. This is simply an extension of that principle of epistemology which Theophrastus (*de Sensu*, 1) says determined whether a thinker should belong to the "likeness school" or to the "unlikeness school." A similarity between real being and true knowledge was assumed even by Heraclitus, who is classed by Theophrastus as a member of the unlikeness school. For Heraclitus's defence of the reason seems to be that it alone is capable of apprehending the Logos which is behind the flux. The impermanent senses apprehend the impermanent flux; the immutable Reason apprehends the immutable Logos.

Professor GOEDECKEMEYER is to be praised for his reading of the *Ethics* in the light of the *Metaphysics*. For the doctrine of matter and form is clearly the dominant note in Aristotelian philosophizing and the *Metaphysics* may be taken as an abstract statement of the formulae which reason must use in understanding both nature and art. Yet—and this is point number two—this should not lead an expositor of his thought to forget the non-logical motives which prompted much of what he had to say. The beauty of his reasoning will be in no whit diminished by setting it in the context of the social environment, for instance, which it reflected upon. Was not Aristotle a citizen of a definite state; did he not speak to a definite society; were not his problems the problems of a definite historical era? If the thoughts of Aristotle transcend the needs of his time, so much the better. That they do so is a problem to be explained, not a fact to be accepted without comment.

If Professor GOEDECKEMEYER had seen in Aristotle a real human being, very wise and very level-headed, if he had loved him as an historical incident and not merely as a system of thought, his study would have proved more interesting than it is. He would, perhaps, have stopped short before making such a statement as this, that Aristotle's fundamental error was in seeing man as a political being. Not the citizen, he says, (p. 238) but the man, not the state but mankind, is the proper object of moral inquiry. How it would be possible to study real men outside the state or outside society, is not indicated. Aristotle is in no sense of the word blind to the vision of the universal, but if it be part of the essence of humanity to live in organized societies, nothing is gained by overlooking that fact. Far from being an error, it was probably one of Aristotle's most

profound insights to see that man was a political animal and to found his ethics on that basis.

But this may be as biased a point of view as Professor GOEDECKEMEYER's. Let it stand simply as a possible and not as a necessary criticism. There are many ways of expounding the ancient philosophers, and his is as important as any other without doubt.

GEORGE BOAS.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

STÉPHANE GSELL. *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie. Tome Ier.*
Inscriptions de la Proconsulaire. Paris, Champion, 1922.
Large 4°.

The first of four volumes which are to contain the Latin inscriptions of Algeria has just appeared. The inscriptions in this first volume are published by Stéphane Gsell. The remaining volumes will appear under the titles: II *Confédération Cirtéenne*; III *Numidie Militaire*; IV *Maurétaines Sitifiennne et Césariennne*.

This first volume has the same format as CIL, and the order, the provenience, and the bibliography of the inscriptions, and the comment upon them, are arranged in the same way as in the Corpus. This explanatory text, however, is not in Latin, but in French. It probably would have been much less provincial if Latin had been used.

There are 4019 inscriptions in this first volume. The index, on fifty trials here and there, revealed no omissions. The table *nomina gentilicia* lists 96 Cornelii (68 masc., 28 fem.), 128 Claudii (82 masc., 46 fem.), 176 Flavii (115 masc., 61 fem.), and 439 Julii (298 masc., 141 fem.).

The French are to be complimented on the way they have kept scientific work going, despite the war, and their work in Africa is especially valuable.

R. V. D. MAGOFFIN.

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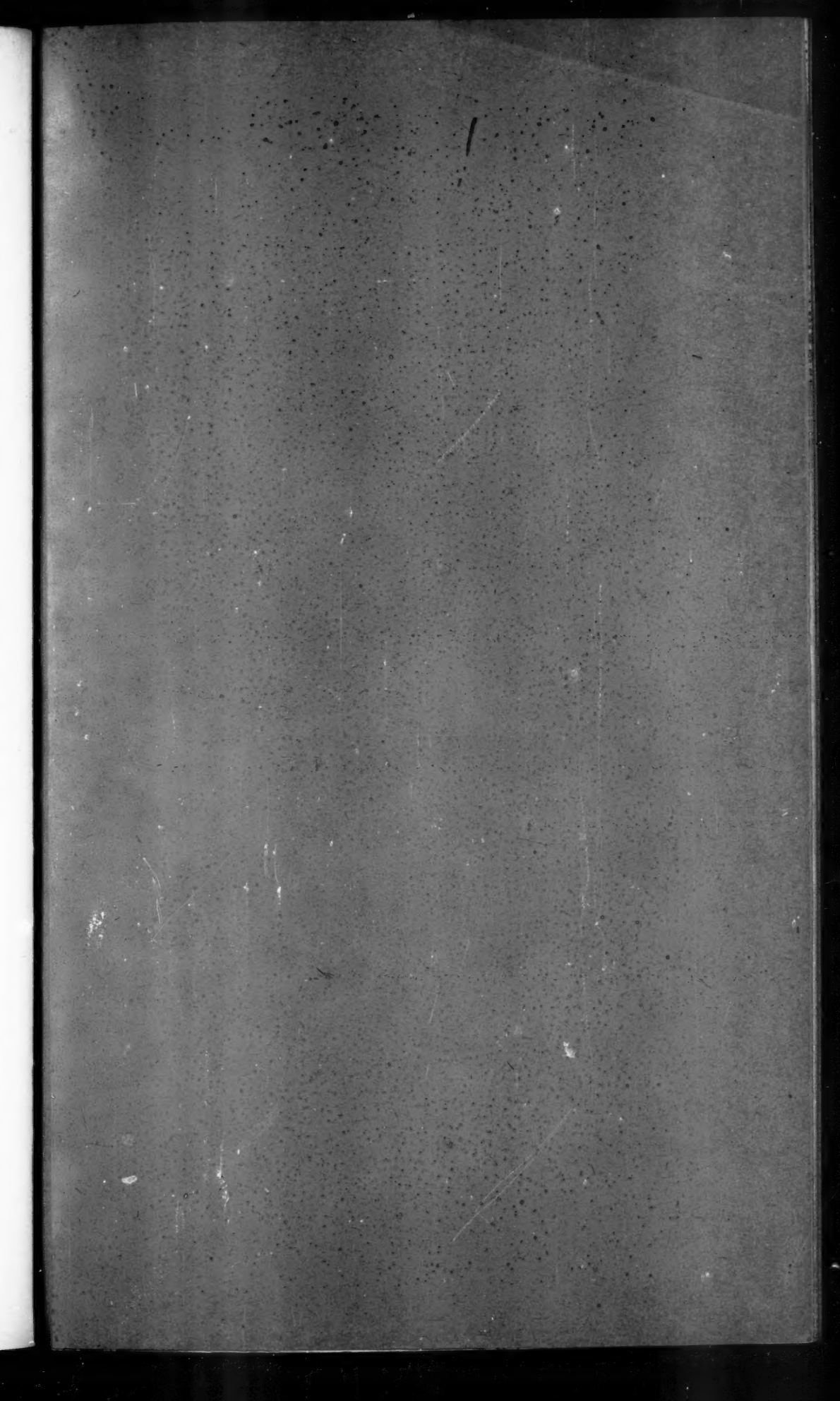
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